FOREIGN NOTICES OF SOUTH INDIA

FROM MEGASTHENES TO MA HUAN

COLLECTED AND EDITED

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PREFACE

This is a source-book of Early South Indian History. Its aim is to present in a handy form the numerous Foreign Notices of South India including Ceylon scattered in several books and journals published by learned Societies not easily accessible to the general reader. In some cases the passages selected for inclusion have been specially rendered into English from French translations of Arabic or Chinese originals.

The sources included here comprise mainly Greek and Latin, Arabic, Chinese and Persian authors; but not being acquainted with their several languages, I have based this work altogether upon translations into modern European languages. Though the collection is not exhaustive, I believe nothing of importance has been omitted. The reasons for the choice of the extracts and their importance to students of South Indian History are briefly explained in the Introduction and notes, and will, I trust, be borne out by the extracts themselves.

I acknowledge with great pleasure the assistance of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, who gave me the transliteration of proper names occurring in Ibn Battūta and also some of the notes to the same author; and of Miss K. M. Sowmini, who made some of the translations from French and checked the references to French periodicals.

Excepting Ibn Battūta, I have generally retained the forms of proper names as they appear in the authorities I have used.

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I must also thank the G. S. Press for the speedy and excellent execution of the work.

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K. A. N.

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INTRODUCTION

'The more we learn the further goes back the history of Eastern Navigation.'

—YULE.

'L'histoire de l'Inde, trop exclusivement regardée du continent, doit être aussi envisagée au point du vue maritime.'

—SYLVAIN LEVI.

THE INDIAN OCEAN

The Indian Ocean is not a closed basin like the Mediterranean Sea; on the South it opens on an infinite expanse of water. Yet the prevalence of currents and of periodical winds conducive to navigation has maintained here, since very early times, a system of exchanges in which the African coast, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, Insulindia, Indo-China, and beyond it, China and even Korea and Japan, continually gave and received their quotas. And in this system, India held a privileged, if not a preponderant, place by the advantage of her situation and the great length of her coasts; she is the centre towards which the many lines of this system converge. Doubtless, the documents are rare for the ancient period; but the race which carried civilisation by the sea to Burma, to Siam, to Cambodia, Indo-China and Java, and Madagascar, was a race of navigators.

'FOLKLORE'

And though as a whole Southern India 'has in the past looked east rather than west,' still the mariners of Sūrpāraka, Bharukaccha and Muziris are famous in history and legend. In his celebrated study on the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] Sylvain Lévi draws pointed attention to many similarities between the geographical cantos in the fourth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the statements of Arab geographers, and argues that these similarities suggest the existence of 'a folklore of the Indian ocean,' stories current among mariners of the 'distant countries to which either their voluntary sailings or the freaks of winds had carried them.' "And from Africa to China," he says, "on this immense extent of coasts which recede in deep hollows or project in compact masses, the same narratives recur,

1. *Pour l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, JA. 11: 11 (1918) pp. 147-8. Cf. also IHQ. vi. pp. 597 ff.

ever re-examined and ever guaranteed by fresh proofs. Each self-respecting navigator must have seen the sacred marvels with his own eyes. From the Periplus of Scylax to the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor, the same stories pass from collection to collection, as they pass from mouth to mouth". And the testimony of Al-Biruni is clear on the existence, in his day, of an active intercourse of ancient standing between Africa and China, and of the part of India in it; for he says: [2] "The reason why in particular Somnāth has become so famous is that it was a harbour for sea-faring people, and a station for those who went to and fro between Sufāla in the country of Zanj (Africa) and China."

LAND ROUTES TO CHINA

On the landward side again India was in equally active communication with China. The route taken by Fā-hien and Yüan Chwang into India was followed by many others, and trade was at least as good an incentive to this intercourse as religion; I-tsing has preserved a record of sixty of his contemporaries who visited India for religious study, but we have no account of the mercantile intercourse of the same period. But as Garrez has shown,[3] even for the Persians of the Sassanian period, Bactriana, the cradle of the religion of Zoroaster, had become virtually an Indian country and the Oxus a river of the Buddhists and Brahmins. "For nearly eight centuries in effect (125 B.C. to 650 A.D.), Bactriana was occupied by the Kuṣāns, who also extended their sway over the entire valley of the Kābūl and that of the Indus up to the peninsula of Guzerat. Connected thus politically with the land of Indians, separated on the other hand from Iran proper by a desert, it fell gradually under Indian influence, and the ancient religion of the Magi had to give place to the Brahmins, and above all to the Buddhists. The Greek writers of this period always cite Bactriana with India, and mention thousands of Brahmanas and Samanas who reside there. Already the medals of many Greek kings of this country bear legends in an Indian language and character. Those of Indo-Scythians show us still, it is true, some names of Iranian divinities; but the figures on them are accompanied by Indian attributes, some even being oddly made up with that superfluity of heads and arms which characterises so specially the representation of divinity in the land of the Hindus. The Chinese annalists, who have conserved to us precious data regard-

2. Al-Biruni ed. Sachau, Vol. ii, p. 104.
3. JA. vi: 13 (1869) pp. 176-84.

ing these Scythian princes, describe them as zealous Buddhists; this is beyond all possibility of doubt for many among them, notably for the celebrated Kanerki or Kaniṣka. It is during this period that the Iranian name of Bâlhi entered Sanskrit literature, and that the Oxus, under its primitive name of which we find no trace in Iran, took a place in the Indian cosmography of the Brahmans as well as the Buddhists". Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the Tārim under the name of Sītā, while traditional Buddhist cosmography makes this stream, as well as the Indus, the Oxus and the Ganges, rise from one and the same lake Anavatapta.[4]

SERINDIA

In the days when Yüan Chwang traversed Bactriana, "Buddhism was generally flourishing from Termez, at the passage of the Oxus, up to Bâmiān at the gates of Kābūl, and in the south-west up to *Ta-la-kien* on the frontier of the kingdom of *Po-la-sse* (Persia). The country of Balkh alone contained nearly one hundred convents and 53,000 monks. One of the convents, the most remarkable for its magnificence, situated to the south-west of the town, was known by the name 'New Convent' (*nava saṅghārāma* or *nava vihāra*) ".[5] This 'new convent' (*Nubehar*) was destroyed by Islamic forces within half-a-century after Yüan Chwang visited it, and Buddhism suffered in Central Asia the same fate which befell it in India some centuries later. And for many centuries after the land routes across the North-Western frontier of India ceased to be frequented by merchants and pilgrims from China, the sea-route between India and China was open, and there is much evidence available on these latter-day commercial relations.

Besides these contacts with Africa, Arabia and China, India, and Southern India in particular, had in the early centuries of the Christian era, a regular system of exchanges, direct and indirect, with the Eastern section of the Roman Empire.

SOURCES

Our aim is to see what impression Southern India (including Ceylon) made upon the foreigners who came into contact with it one way or another. The earliest accounts we have are, speaking generally, those of the classical writers, whose notices of India gain in extent and accuracy to the end of the second century A.D.

4. Op. cit. pp. 133-4.
5. Garrez, loc. cit. p. 178.

Then come several notices from Chinese travellers and annalists many of which have been made accessible only by researches that are still in progress. From the eighth century the writings of Arab merchants and travellers, historians and geographers begin to be important, while the Chinese sources become more copious and definite than before. We have also occasional notices by European travellers (and priests) like Benjamin of Tudela and Marco Polo. After the end of the fourteenth century, the foreign notices of Southern India become too many and too voluminous for inclusion in this collection, and an exception has been made in favour of only a very few highly significant accounts.

CLASSICAL WRITERS

Among the classical writers directly accessible at present the earliest to mention India is Herodotus. Writing in the fifth century B.C., the Father of History had only a vague and meagre knowledge of the country and his notice of it is valuable for his curious account of certain wild trees that bore wool which in beauty and quality excelled that of sheep and out of which the Indians made their clothing.[6]. His is the first rational account of India and its peoples, generally free from the fables described by other writers both before and after him. The first direct notice of a South Indian kingdom occurs in Megasthenes whose quaint account of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom seems to be a mixture of facts and of contemporary fables relating to that Kingdom. (I B, i and ii).

KANCI AND CHINA, 2ND CENT. B.C.

One of the most surprising results of recent research is the discovery by Paul Pelliot of a passage (II) in Pan Kou, a very early Chinese writer, attesting the existence of an active intercourse between China and the states of Insulindia and Southern India in the Han period, beginning from the second century B.C. If the text of Pan Kou has been correctly interpreted, it would warrant a somewhat drastic revision of the notions now held regarding the age when the Hindu colonisation of the eastern lands began.[6a]

Alexandria in Egypt rose to great prosperity in the Hellenistic Age, and though it was noted for its manufactures, it derived its

6. McCrindle—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 4 paragraph 106.

6a. Cf. The Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China—IHQ., xiv, 2. (Winternitz Comm. Vol.), pp. 380-87.

immense wealth in part from its "share in the trade of the East which had by now assumed very large proportions thanks to direct contact with India....Ptolemaic merchant fleets were sent to the southern ports of the Red Sea,"[7] by the Nile-Red-Sea canal which had been opened in 190 B.C., and the Arabs and the Hindus served as intermediaries for the trade with India and the Far East till Roman times.

HELLENISTIC AGE

The Andhras are the earliest Indian line of kings definitely known to have developed a sea power and to have promoted maritime trade and also perhaps overseas colonisation. The attribute *trisamudrādhipati*, lord of the three oceans, is applied to them by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*, and there is mention in the *Apocrypha* of an Andrapolis as a port in Western India; lastly, numerous coins of this dynasty are known to bear the design of a double-masted ship figured on them.[8]

"The policy of the Roman Empire during the two centuries following the Christian era was to encourage direct sea trade with India, cutting out all overland routes through Parthia and thus avoiding the annoyance of fiscal dependence on that consistent enemy of Rome".[9] Strabo records the increase in the knowledge of India among the Romans of his day and the success of the expedition under Gallus, sent by Augustus (25 B.C.) to secure for the empire the command of Aden and the Red Sea route to India, which was becoming increasingly popular among the merchants of the empire, (III C). Aden was soon after occupied by a colony of Egyptians and Greeks, and the monsoon was discovered for the Romans by Hippalus, an Egyptian pilot. This discovery not only shortened the duration of the journey, but, by enabling ships to cut across the open sea, greatly diminished the danger from pirates who infested the coastal waters. "We are told that whereas before

ROMAN EMPIRE

7. *Commerce and Society*, W. F. Oakeshott (1936), p. 19. For an inscription from Ptolemaic times (cited by O. Stein), in which an Indian makes a thanksoffering in an Egyptian temple of Ammon-Ra for the successful completion of a journey, see ZII. Vol. 3. p. 318.

8. JA. Jan.-Mar. 1936, p. 96; Rapson: *Coins of the Andhras*, etc. Among the clearest references to ocean-navigation in early historical times in India must be noted the evidence of the use of birds by mariners for discovering the proximity of land—*Digha Nikāya*, xi. Kevaddha Sutta, 85.

9. Schoff: *Parthian stations*, p. 19.

this discovery hardly twenty ships a year had made the voyage, after it, on an average, a ship a day left the Egyptian ports for the East. To the sailors of these ships the whole of the western coast of India was well known."[10] It is noteworthy that more than one half of the Roman coins found in India date from the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Before the first century A.D. was far advanced, the Indian trade attained such magnitude as to give concern to thoughtful observers.

"Besides cloves and other products of Malaya and silk from China, the ports on the West coast of India furnished pepper, ivory of the elephants of Malabar, indigo, steel, muslins, ebony, pearls from Cape Comorin, and teak-wood which was employed in carpentry on the coasts of the Persian Gulf where in general teak did not grow. Lastly the Coromandel coast supplied cotton stuffs. In their turn the Roman ships brought wine, Egyptian fabrics, coral, a rare article in all the Eastern countries, tin, lead and bronze.

10. Oakeshott, *op. cit.* p. 32; also Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, pp. 73-77. See JRAS, 1904, pp. 399-405 for some very valuable remarks from Hultzsch on the intercourse between India and the West, especially on the frequency with which the Indians visited parts of the Roman empire,—witness the case of Sophen (Subhānu), a Hindu traveller in Egypt (p. 402). But Hultzsch's view regarding the presence of Kanarese words in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of the second century A.D. is highly questionable, and has been questioned by Barnett—(*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. xii, 1926, pp. 13-15). And O. Stein thinks that the so-called Kanarese words are at least in part Greek words deliberately distorted to produce the impression of a foreign speech. *Indologica Pragensia*, i. pp. 41-2. *Contra Cōḷas*, i. p. 620; *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1926, pp. 11-21; *Ancient Karnataka*, Saletore, i. pp. 584-97. A Chinese notice of the Roman province of Syria in 125 A.D. says that the gain from trade with India and Parthia was as ten to one. (TP. ii. 8, 1907, p. 184).

I do not think that any emphasis should be laid on the curious fact recorded by Pliny and Pomponius Mela that Metellus Celer, who was Proconsul of Gaul in 60-59 B.C. received from the king of the Suevi or the Boii 'a present of some Indians who were said to have been cast upon the German coast.' Lassen (*Ind. Alter.* iii, pp. 57-8) who was the first, I think, to discuss these references was inclined to discount the possibility of the Indians having rounded the whole of Africa and Western Europe at such an early date, and to suggest a shipwreck in the Caspian Sea. Others have suggested that these were American Indians who had drifted across the Atlantic Ocean, or even that they were merely Europeans. Some Indian scholars are convinced that it is a case of circumnavigation of Africa. See Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, p. 55; and Warmington, *Commerce*, pp. 27 and 338 *n.* 72.

As the articles brought by the Romans did not suffice to pay for what they purchased, the difference was paid in cash".[11]

Pliny the Elder, the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, and Ptolemy, represent the further stages in that increasing acquaintance of the Romans with the countries of the East of which we get the first hints in Strabo. Though Pliny generally derives his information regarding India from earlier writers, still his references to Indian trade (IV B) and the drain of Roman treasure due to it must have been quite up to date when he wrote his *Natural History* about 75 A.D. Whether the *Periplus* was written a few years before or after the publication of Pliny's work, its author had doubtless visited the seats of commerce on the West coast of India, and his account is invaluable for the directness and accuracy that generally characterise it (V).

PLINY

PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA

The voyages of Greek sailors were continued beyond Cape Comorin from about the close of the first century A.D., and in the early decades of the second century they explored many sea-routes across the Bay of Bengal. "One pioneer appropriately named Alexander cut across the Isthmus of Malaya and skirted the Annamese coast as far as Cattigara (probably Hanoi in Tonkin). Finally, in 166 a deputation of Greek merchants, who styled themselves 'ambassadors' from the emperor 'An-Tun' (M. Aurelius Antoninus) visited the court of the Emperor Huan-ti at Loyang and opened negotiations for a regular overseas trade between the Mediterranean lands and China".[12] But these voyages were occasional ventures that led to no extensive changes in the trade connections of the Roman Empire. Yet the improvement effected in the knowledge relating to the geography of the East is reflected in Ptolemy's pages. Pliny and Periplus knew nothing of the Far East; the merchants who frequented Barygaza and Muziris in their time knew little of the Eastern navigation beyond India, and they were still enquiring if Taprobanê was an island or a continent communicating with Africa.[13] On the other hand, coins of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) and Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) are not uncommon on

EXPLORATION

11. Reinaud, JA.: Mai-Juin, 1863, pp. 308-9.

12. Cary, *History of Rome* (1935), p. 671. See, however, Ferrand in JA. 11: 13, pp. 456-7; and post p. 11, n. 24.

13. Sylvain Lévi—*Ptolemée, Le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā*, in Etudes Asiatiques, ii. pp. 1-55, esp. 50-2.

the East coast of South India, though comparatively rare on the West coast. And though "his map of India has been distorted out of recognition by a portentous error," Ptolemy "made important additions to the knowledge of the geography of Ceylon, the interior of India, and India beyond the Ganges".[14] And after Ptolemy, as Sylvain Lévi has shown, all texts Greek and Indian relate themselves to him and to the *Niddesa.* It has been rightly observed that Ptolemy's *Guide to Geography* 'differed from Strabo's production as does a skeleton from the living body';[15] for this reason and because of the numerous and difficult problems of identification presented by his tables relating to Southern India, problems which cannot be adequately treated in casual notes, I decided to omit the tables from the present collection.

MARCIAN OF HERACLEA

After Ptolemy's attempt 'to put into scientific form the records and personal impressions of a number of merchants, travellers and others of his time,' there 'followed a long period without original observation or authorship—a period of copying, compilation and imitation'.[16] The Roman empire began to develop signs of weakness and the delicate commercial system which had been reared during the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods broke down completely towards the end of the third century. The Greek half of the Roman empire indeed kept up its political unity much longer than the Western half; but 'knowledge and enterprise were languishing and were not revived until the conquests of the followers of Mohammed again brought East and West into contact and orderly relations'.[17] To this period belongs Marcian of Heraclea (VII) whose work has survived only in fragments. "If it had been preserved to us in complete form", says Schoff,[18] "it might indeed have been a more useful compilation of Roman geography for general reference than the highly technical work of Ptolemy."

COSMAS

A more typical Byzantine figure was the 'crotchety monk' Cosmas, called Indikopleustes 'the man who sailed to India'. In his early life he was a merchant, and his business took him to many places on the Persian Gulf, on the West coast of India and as far east as

14. McCrindle—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. xviii.
15. McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. xix.
16. Schoff, *Periplus of the outer Sea*, p. 6.
17. Schoff, *ibid.*
18. *ibid.*, contra Yule, *Cathay*, i.13-14.

Ceylon (XII C). His book, *Christian Topography,* written some time between 530 and 550 A.D. sets out to disprove the theories of classical geographers on the configuration of the earth and establish doctrines 'drawn from Holy Scripture.' Yule characterised it, not very unjustly, 'a continent of mud' from which we may extract, however, 'a few geographical fossils of considerable interest.'[19]

PULAKESIN II AND KHUSRU PARWIS c. 625 A.D.

The live contact between South India and Persia in the first part of the seventh century A.D. is attested by a striking coincidence between the paintings in the ceiling of Cave No. I in Ajaṇṭā and a somewhat detailed notice by a Persian historian of a correspondence between Pulakesin II and the Sassanian monarch Khusru II. Some doubts have indeed been cast upon the view that Ajaṇṭā paintings portray Khusru II and his celebrated consort Shirīn on the one hand, and Pulakesin II receiving a Persian embassy on the other. But the details mentioned by Ṭabarī (838-923 A.D.), the Persian historian, in his account of the dispute between Khusru II and his son are quite clear and definite. "Ṭabarī", says Nöldeke, "in this part of his narrative followed a Pehlevi work written shortly after the king's death, but before the Arab conquest"; and Ṭabarī puts the following statement in the mouth of Khusru: "Two years ago, Pulakesi, King of India, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you. To you he presented—don't you remember it?—an elephant, a sword, a white falcon and a piece of gold brocade. When we looked at the presents and at the letters, we remarked that yours bore the mark 'Private' on the cover in the Indian language. Then we ordered that the presents and other letters should be delivered to each of you, but we kept back your letter, on account of the remark written on the outside. We then sent for an Indian scribe, had the seal broken, and the letter read. The contents were:—'Rejoice and be of good cheer, for on the day Dai ba Ādhar, of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Chosroes, thou wilt be crowned king and become ruler of the whole empire. Signed, Pulakesi.' But we closed this letter with our seal, and gave it into the keeping of our consort Shirīn".[19a]

19. *Cathay,* i. p. 27. McCrindle protests that Yule's estimate 'does less than justice to the work' of Cosmas.

19a. JRAS, 1879, pp. 165-6; Yazdani, *Ajanta,* Text i, pp. 46-51. Ettinghausen (*Harṣavardhana,* pp. 52-4) doubts Nöldeke's restoration of Purumesa into Pulukeśa (*Geschichte Des Perser und Araber,* Ṭabarī, 1879, p. 371 *n*), suggests that Parameśvara is better, and takes it to mean

India's relations with China form a long and instructive story. But I must in general confine my attention to South India and Ceylon and the sea-route to China; an occasional glance at the relations between China and the maritime states of the Malay peninsula along that route will also be useful to our understanding of the subject. The beginnings of this intercourse may be traced, as has been seen, to the second century B.C. or even earlier. The evidence for the first and second centuries A.D. is meagre. Yet there is no room to doubt that the political condition of India and the extensive trade relations maintained by the various parts of that country were well known in China. This becomes clear from an interesting passage in the report made to the emperor in 125 A.D. by general Pan Yong, the son of the celebrated Pan Tch'ao and nephew of the historian Pan Kou. Pan Yong played an important part in the conquest and administration of the Western parts of the Chinese Empire in the first years of the second century A.D., and his account of India, remarkable alike for its brevity and precision, deserves to be reproduced here[20]:

CHINA

PAN YONG

"The kingdom of *T'ien-tchou* (India) is also known as *Chen-tou*; it lies several thousands of *li* to the south-east of *Hiong-nou*. Its customs are similar to those of *Hiong-nou*, but the country is low, humid and warm. This kingdom is on the banks of a great river. The people ride on elephants while going to war; they are weaker than the *Yue-tche*; they practise the religion of the Buddha; and it has become a habit with them never to kill or to fight.

"If after leaving the kingdom of *Kao-fou* (Kabul) which belongs to the *Yue-tche*, one goes south-west, one reaches the western sea; in the East one gets to the kingdom of *P'an-k'i*;[21] all these

Pulakeśin, the Parameśvara of the South. Nöldeke says that if Fergusson's date for the paintings is correct, his interpretation of them can hardly be impugned (*op. cit.*, p. 503). Foucher's view is that no historical scenes were represented anywhere in Ajaṇṭā, *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1919-20, pp. 99-100. R. C. Majumdar relates 'Ṭabari's passage to Harṣavardhana (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. iv, pt. ii, pp. 29*ff.*).

20. Chavannes in TP. ii. 8 (1907), pp. 149, and 192-4. See Elmer H. Cutts on *Chinese-Indian Contacts* (prior to the latter half of the first century), IHQ, xiv, No. 3 (Winternitz Comm. Volume) pp. 486-502—where this passage is reproduced at the end in Chavannes' French Version.

21. Apparently in Annam or in Burma (Chavannes).

lands form part of *Chen-tou*. *Chen-tou* contains several hundreds of towns other (than the capital); in each town they have appointed a governor; there are many dozens of other kingdoms (besides the principal one); in each kingdom there is a king. Though some small differences may be noticed in each of these kingdoms, yet all are called *Chen-tou*. At this period (apparently 125 A.D.) they are dependent altogether on the *Yue-tche*; the *Yue-tche* having killed the king and installed a chief as governor of these people.

"This country produces elephants, rhinoceroses, tortoise shell, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead (and) tin. From the West coast it is in communication with *Ta-Ts'in* (the Roman province of Syria),[22] and precious objects from *Ta-Ts'in* are found there. There are also fine fabrics, woollen carpets of good quality, perfumes of all kinds, sugar-candy, pepper, ginger (and) black salt.

"In the epoch of the emperor Ho (89-105 A.D.), they sent on several occasions ambassadors carrying tribute and presents. Later, the countries of the West having revolted, these relations were interrupted. Then in the reign of emperor Houan, in the second (159 A.D.) and fourth (161 A.D.) years *Yen-hi* they came again on two occasions from beyond *Je-nan*".[23] The Hindu embassies of 159 and 161 thus followed the same route as the so-called 'embassy' from Marcus Aurelius which reached China in 166 A.D.[24] and brought with them ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise shells.

SEA-ROUTE

According to a Chinese authority cited by Sylvain Lévi,[25] there was another and a longer break in the relations between China and India in the third century. But it may be doubted if this statement refers to the Southern sea-route between China and India. At any rate there is much evidence to show that Southern India was in

22. TP. *ibid.*, p. 179. Also Yule *Cathay*, i.42, *n*.2.

23. i.e. southern part of Tonkin—(Chavannes).

24. "Proof has been sought in this famous embassy that Marcus Aurelius was tempted to enter into communication by sea with China, because the silk trade by land was interrupted owing to the campaigns of Avidus Cassius against the Parthians and of the plague that followed. But on the one hand, it seems that the person who represented himself as the ambassador of Marcus Aurelius was a simple merchant with no official character; and on the other that, as we shall see, musicians and jugglers from *Ta Ts'in* arrived in Burma as early as 120 A.D., which shows that the relations by sea between the Eastern part of the Roman Empire and the Far East did not wait to establish themselves till the reign of Marcus Aurelius"—Chavannes, TP. *ib.*, 185 *n*. 1. See also Yule and Cordier, *Cathay*, i. pp. 50-3.

25. Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. 66 *n*. 2.

active touch with the colonies of Indonesia and that these colonies often employed South Indian products in their exchanges with China.

In 225 A.D. Fu-nan (Ancient Cambodia) and other countries offered the *lieou-li* (pkt. verūlya, skt. vaiḍūrya), the cat's-eye gem, as a present; this gem must have been of South Indian origin.[26] About the same time, the king of Fu-nan sent an embassy to India; this embassy went up the river Ganges and reached the court of the Muruṇḍa king and returned to Fu-nan at the end of four years with a present of four horses of the country of the Yue-che (Indo-Scythians).[27] Other embassies from Fu-nan to China are recorded in the years, 225-30, 243, 268, 285, 286, 287, 357, 434, 435, 438, and 484 bringing presents of "an image in chased gold of the seat of the king of dragons, an elephant in white sandal, two *stupas* of ivory, two pieces of cotton, two *sou-li* (*surāhī*) of glass, and one tray of areca-nut and tortoise shell." Again in 503, 511, 514, 519, embassies brought as presents a lucky image of sandalwood from India and the leaves of the *sāla* tree, besides pearls, rock crystal, turmeric, and storax and other perfumes. Later embassies offered a live rhinoceros among other things.[28] It is easily seen that vaiḍūrya, sandalwood and pearls are specifically South Indian products.

The kingdom of Campā (Ancient Cochin-China) also sent embassies in the years 230, 268, 284 and 340 offering tame elephants and carrying a letter 'written entirely in barbaric characters,' i.e., an Indian alphabet prevalent in Campā, and it is well-known that this alphabet was of South Indian origin.[29]

It has been shown that asbestos was shipped from India to Fu-nan in the beginning of the third century A.D.[30] From Java again at least seven embassies are known to have been sent to China in the fifth century, and in 430 one of these is said to have taken to the Chinese court rings of diamond, red parrots, cotton

26. Ferrand, JA. 11: 14 pp. 21-2. "The term vaiḍūrya" says Chavannes "designates properly the cat's eye (and not beryl); but, by the way, in Chinese the name *pi-lieou-li* had come to mean simply coloured glass which the Chinese took to be a natural mineral till the 5th century A.D."' TP. ii, 8 (1907) p. 182, *n.* 3.

27. Ferrand JA: 11:13, pp. 458-9; Pelliot, BEFEO iii, pp. 277-8.

28. JA. 11:14, pp. 7-8. BEFEO iii p. 285.

29. JA. *ibid.* For the alphabet of Campā see JOR x pp. 192-99=BEFEO xxxv, pp. 233-41. See Pagel, ZDMG. 91 pp. 747-8 on Tamil influence on the Katakana alphabet of Japan.

30. TP. xvi pp. 349-50.

stuffs, coarse and fine, from India, and cotton goods from Ye-po (Gāndhāra, according to Pelliot).[31]

FA-HIEN.

Facts like these show that the sea-route between India and China was being actively used during the early centuries of the Christian era, if not directly at least by the mediation of the Hindu colonies of Indonesia. This inference is confirmed by the story of Fā-hien's travels at the beginning of the fifth century. He is indeed the first Buddhist who is known to have succeeded in accomplishing a sea journey from Ceylon to China. He did not visit the mainland of South India but took ship from Tamluk to Ceylon, (VIII B, C), and his interest was centred chiefly in Buddhism. His account of the Deccan and the 'pigeon monastery' is just edifying gossip (VIII-A).

It may be noted that in this early period the sea-trade between China and the Western countries was developed by the initiative and enterprise of the Arabs and Indians. The Chinese were still timid navigators and much afraid of pirates.[32]

GUNAVARMAN

After Fā-hien there was a succession of Buddhists who sailed between Southern India and China. Sanghavarmi, a Ceylonese monk, arrived in China in 420 A.D. and translated the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya. The more celebrated Guṇavarman arrived soon after. The stories that have gathered round his name may not all be history; but there is little reason to doubt that Javanese Buddhism owed a great deal to him, and that, in China, he helped to establish a community of nuns, a project which involved the invitation of some nuns from Ceylon to come and assist in the initiation of the order. Guṇavarman also translated many sacred books into the Chinese language (IX). The names of several others who followed the sea-route in the fifth century are mentioned in the Kwai-Yuen catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, compiled in 730 A.D.[33]

SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES

The maritime intercourse between the two countries seems to have continued in full swing in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Cosmas mentions the arrival in Ceylon of ships from the remotest countries including those that brought silk from T'sinista (China),

31. JA. *ibid.* p. 7.
32. Hirth and Rockhill—*Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 7.
33. Anesaki in JRAS. 1903 pp. 368-70.

and his testimony is that of a merchant who had taken a personal part in trading with Ceylon in the sixth century. Later Chinese authors like Cho'u K'iu-feï (1178) and Chau Ju-kua (1225) record it as their opinion that though Kia Tan (730-835 A.D.), the great Chinese geographer, described a land-route from Annam to India, still the sea-route must have been more expeditious than the long overland route, because the celebrated Bodhidharma sailed all the way to Canton about 520 A.D.[34] Ma-Twan-lin has preserved an account of a South Indian embassy to China (X) at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. which took some horses of a fine breed as presents to the Chinese Emperor and gave much interesting information on the products of the country. The role of Fu-nan as intermediary in the trade relations between South India and China becomes apparent in a curious account (XI) of a highly valued mirror from Western India offered for sale in China sometime between 500 and 550 A.D. To Ma Twan-lin again we owe the survival of a short and rather vague passage (XIII) which refers to conditions prevailing in India, maybe in the second half of the sixth century or in an earlier period; it says that some Indians went as far as Fu-nan and Tonkin to traffic in coral necklaces and pearls of inferior quality, and then proceeds to give a brief sketch of the Indians, their habits and dress.

The seventh century forms a great epoch in the annals of Indian Buddhism and the attractions offered by its study *in situ* to many pious Chinese pilgrims. Some Indian monks also travelled to China to labour there in the cause of the Buddhist faith.

DHARMAGUPTA

Dharmagupta, for instance, a scholar of Lāṭa (Gujerat), left his native land at first for Central India, and gradually found his way across Kapiśa and Badakshan, Kashgar, Turfān and other places to the Chinese capital about 590 A.D.; and he spent the rest of his life there translating Hindu texts into Chinese and writing a memoir on the countries of the West till 619 A.D.[35]

YUAN CHWANG

Of all the Chinese pilgrims that came to India, Yüan Chwang rightly claims the first place in the attention of the historians and archaeologists

34. *Chau Ju-Kua*, pp. 97, 101-2 and Pelliot's remarks at TP.xiii (1912) pp. 471-2. Ferrand, JA. 11:13 (1919) p. 461 has missed Pelliot's remarks on the citation from Kia Tan. The story of Bodhidharma is obscure. TP. xxii (1923) pp. 253 *ff*.

35. BEFEO iii pp. 439-40.

of India. Not only did he travel much more extensively in India than his compatriots, but he was on the whole much less of a recluse than they. Like them, he was primarily interested in the study and collection of Buddhist sacred books and in visiting the far-famed shrines of India, but as Watters has said 'his creed was broad and his piety never became ascetic, and he was by nature tolerant.' The record of his journeys and experiences is as varied and interesting as may be expected, and, except in recording Buddhist miracles, he generally depended on the testimony of his own personal observation (XIV). Even so, he does not completely satisfy the curiosity of modern students, and to cite Watters once more: 'He was not a good observer, a careful investigator, or a satisfactory recorder, and consequently he left very much untold which he would have done well to tell.'

By the side of Yüan Chwang, I-tsing appears more bookish. I-tsing[36] was a boy of twelve when Yüan Chwang returned to China in 645 A.D., and his biographer informs us that I-tsing made up his mind to follow Yüan Chwang's illustrious example in the year 649. For reasons unknown to us, he had to put off the execution of his plan till 671 when he embarked from Canton on a Persian ship; many other monks had promised to accompany him, but stayed away in the end, and his only companion was his pupil Chan-hing. He reached India early in 673 and landed at Tamluk. He spent three months there and made the acquaintance of a Chinaman who had already lived twelve years in India. In his company he visited Bihar, the true Holy Land of Buddhism, travelling with a caravan of hundreds of merchants. He fell ill on the way, and later became a victim to a band of robbers who relieved him of all possessions, including his clothes. He rejoined his companions later and finished his pilgrimage without any further adventures. He then spent ten years in Nālandā till in 685 he made up his mind to return to China by the same route as he had taken on his outward journey. He spent four years at Śrīvijaya, went to Canton for a short period, and returned to Śrīvijaya with four companions to carry on his literary work. His memoirs were written when he lived in Śrīvijaya. He returned to China in 695 and was received with great pomp by the notorious empress Ou. He kept himself busy with his literary work till his death in 713.[37]

I-TSING

36. This is his ordination name. His original name was Chang Wen-Ming.

37. Chavannes—*Religieux Eminents*, Introduction.

I-tsing thus did not visit Southern India or even Ceylon, and he has therefore nothing to tell us directly about these lands. But his works are valuable for the itineraries they contain (XV-A), for their notices of differences in doctrines and social practices among the Buddhists of different lands (XV-B, C, D), and above all for the brief biographies of eminent monks who visited India in his time (XV-E). For, as Chavannes has observed, it is surprising to find that in one generation as many as sixty persons braved the hazards of this distant and perilous voyage. And it is legitimate to suppose that in the periods before and after I-tsing hundreds of pilgrims must have undertaken similar voyages the details of which have altogether escaped the historian.

TRADE AND POLITICS

That religion was not the sole motive force that brought China and India together in this period, that trade and politics also worked towards the same result, becomes clear from the notices of certain embassies from the kingdoms of India[37a] including the Pallava kingdom of Kāñcī in the last years of the seventh century and the first years of the eighth (XVI). These notices have been collected from a Chinese encyclopaedia of the eleventh century by Chavannes, and are also preserved in a later abbreviated version in the pages of the indefatigable Ma-Twan-lin. These embassies have not received the attention they deserve at the hands of Indian historians. Śīlāditya of Western India,[38] and the Cāḷukya Vallabha of South India, sent their representatives to China in 692. But the most surprising fact we learn from these records is that in 720 A.D. Narasimhavarman II, the Pallava ruler of Kāñcī, well-known under his surname Rājasimha, sent an embassy to China to inform the Chinese emperor of his intention to go to war with the Arabs and Tibetans and asked the Emperor to give a name to his army; he also sent word that he had constructed a temple on account of the emperor and wanted him to give it too a name. The ambassador that brought these requests was highly honoured, and a Chinese embassy was sent in return to visit South India and gratify the wishes of Narasimhavarman.

37a. By a decree of the Chinese Emperor issued in 695 A.D. embassies from South India were to get provisions from court for six months. BEFEO. iv p. 334.

38. A later monarch than the one noticed by Smith, *Early History*,[4] pp. 343-4.

These precise references to Narasimhavarman go to show that the usual chronology of the reigns of the Pallava monarchs at the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth is not as well founded as it is generally taken to be; it is possible that the reign of Narasimhavarman lasted longer and that of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla began later than is generally believed.[39] The mention of Arabs and Tibetans as the enemies of the Pallava kingdom in this period should also be noted. Separately or allied together, the Arabs and the Tibetans were more the enemies of China in this period than of any Indian state, least of all a South Indian state, and one may reasonably surmise that it was the Chinese court which, being impressed by the political power of Narasimhavarman in India, was anxious to enlist his support in its plans against the Tibetans. "It is certain, according to the evidence of certain Chinese authors," says Reinaud, "that the Tibetans, called Thufan by those writers, played in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. a great part in Central Asia. Masters for a time of regions situated in the north-east and south-east, they made the emperors of China tremble even in their capital. A Chinese author says that, at an epoch which corresponds to the year 787, the emperor of China found himself constrained, for his own security, to make an alliance with the king of Yunnan, the Khalif of Bagdad, and certain Indian princes. The Tibetan arms seemed to extend to the remotest parts of the Bay of Bengal; it is only in some such way that we can explain the name Tibetan Sea applied to the Bay by Ishtakri and Ibn Hawkal."[40]

PALLAVAS AND CHINA

TIBETAN POWER

The career of the remarkable monk Vajrabodhi[41] falls in the same period as the South Indian missions to China just mentioned and is connected with the most celebrated among them. He was a native of South India born in 661 A.D. He studied in Nālandā till his twenty-sixth year, and then made a pilgrimage to Kapilavastu in 689 before he returned to Southern India, the centre of

VAJRABODHI

39. Cf. N. Venkataramanayya in JOR. viii pp. 1-8.

40. Reinaud—*Aboulfeda,* i. pp.ccclvii-viii. Also Smith—*Early History of India,*[4] p. 377.

41. For the sketch that follows I depend on Lévi and Chavannes in JA. 9:15 (1900) May-June pp. 418-21, and 11.8 (1916) pp. 48-9, accepting the later statement regarding the native place of Vajrabodhi. Cf. Watters, *Yuan Chwang* ii. p. 231.

the cult of Avalokiteśvara. Then Kāñcī had been suffering for three years without rain, and the king Narasimhapotavarman implored the help of the pious monk, who brought on rain by means of prayer. Soon after this Vajrabodhi had a vision in which he was ordered to visit Ceylon and to go and worship Mañjuśrī in the Middle Empire of China. He crossed the sea and was solemnly received in Ceylon. There he spent six months worshipping the holy relics. He returned to India, and with the permission of the king, perhaps Narasimhavarman himself, he embarked for China together with an ambassador carrying presents to the Emperor. The mission, doubtless the same as Narasimhavarman's mentioned above, halted first at the port of Po-tchi-li in Ceylon, which it reached in twenty-four hours and in which there were already thirty-five Persian vessels that had come to exchange precious stones. The monk became friends with the Persian merchants, and after a month's stay in Ceylon all of them sailed together and reached Śrīvijaya after a month's voyage. The last stage in the voyage ended disastrously, all the boats except Vajrabodhi's being scattered by a tempest. After a long series of reverses, he landed at Canton and took the road from there to the Eastern capital, where he arrived in 720 A.D. Vajrabodhi had introduced the Mahāyāna into Ceylon when he stayed there, and when he died in China in 732, he enjoined his pupil Amoghavajra to go to the five Indias and to the kingdom of Ceylon. Amoghavajra left Canton on a Malay boat (741) and reached Ceylon where he was received with pomp by the ruler Silāmegha. There he pursued his work with vigour and fixed the Mahāyāna doctrine in its final form.

BODHISENA

Bodhisena, a South Indian Brahmin of the Barachi (Bhāradvāja ?) family, was drawn to China by the fame of the land and by his desire to meet Mañjuśrī who was then reputed to be living in China. On his way, he met a priest from Campā, Buttetsu by name, and they travelled together to China in 733. Bodhisena learnt from a facetious priest that Mañjuśrī had left for Japan, and just at the time he was pressed by a Japanese embassy taking leave of the Chinese court to embark with them for Japan. And Bodhisena accepted the invitation with alacrity, reached Naniwa (modern Osaka) in 736 and was received in great pomp by the officials and priests of the court. Bodhisena and his friend Buttetsu lived there for many years as highly honoured guests, and officiated in the installation of a great statue of Buddha Vairocana in 749. In 750 Bodhisena became Sojo, the head of the entire Buddhist

ecclesiastical order in Japan, and was popularly known as *Baramon Sojo* (Brahman Bishop). He taught Sanskrit and the doctrine of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* of the Mahāyāna at three different monasteries till his death in 760 A.D. at the age of fifty-seven. An inscribed stūpa erected ten years later marks to this day the place of his final rest. The Japanese alphabet was fixed about this time and shows unmistakable traces of Sanskrit influence, and Takakusu suggests that the studies inaugurated by Bodhisena had something to do with it.[42]

Several embassies from Ceylon to China are mentioned in the eighth century.[43] Some other facts of considerable significance may be noted before we leave this phase of Indo-Chinese relations. A disciple of the Chinese priest Kien-tchen, who made a voyage from China to Japan in 749 A.D., while describing the journey (XVII), states that the Canton river was full of vessels from India, Persia and Arabia, and that in Canton itself there were three Brahmin temples where Indian Brahmins lived. And in 881 A.D. a Japanese prince, Shinnio Taka-oka by name, who had started on a pilgrimage to India, died on his way at Lo-yue, in the southern part of the Malay peninsula.[44] Lastly, the Tamil inscription of Takuā-pā mentioning a Viṣṇu temple, a tank called Nāraṇam and the Maṇigrāmam (merchant guild) of that place may be assigned also to the same period.[45]

BRAHMINS IN CANTON

A Chinese work of the early ninth century, purporting to record facts relating to the eighth, states that the foreign ships "which visited Canton were very large, so high out of the water that ladders several tens of feet in length had to be used to get aboard. The foreign (Fan) captains who commanded them were registered in the office of the Inspector of Maritime Trade (Shi-po-shi). This office (the existence of which, by the way, proves the importance of this trade), before allowing the ships to clear, required that the manifests should be submitted to it, and then collected export duty and also the freight charges. The export of 'precious and rare articles' was forbidden, and attempts at smuggling were punished with imprisonment."[46]

42. BEFEO, xxviii (1928-29) pp. 24-6. See also n. 29 *ante*.
43. JA: 9:15 (1900) pp. 411-8; 428.
44. Takakusu: *I-tsing*, p. xlv, n.3; BEFEO iv p. 232.
45. JOR. vi. pp. 300 *ff*.
46. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 9.

ARAB WRITERS

With the ninth century we enter on the period of the great Arab travellers, geographers and historians. From very ancient times much of the trade of the Indian Ocean had been in the hands of the Arabs, and with the rise of Islam there came a sudden expansion the effects of which were not confined to religion and politics, but spread to commerce and science. The Prophet had been himself a merchant in his early life, and this no doubt explains in part the great prestige which Muslim merchants enjoyed. The dramatic story of the expansion of Muslim power under the early Khalifs is well known; one would expect that the political revolutions which accompanied it would have been hindrances to trade. But even in the midst of the most rapid and surprising conquests, commercial expansion went on apace. In the 16th year of the Hegira (637 A.D.), in the Caliphate of Omar, a fleet started from the coast of Oman to ravage Sindh and the West Coast of India. And before the end of the seventh century, a colony of Muslim merchants had established themselves in Ceylon. Some Muslim women who had lost their parents in Ceylon were carried off by Indian pirates on their way back home, and this event furnished a pretext to the famous Hajjāj to invade the Indus Valley.[47] In 758 A.D. the Arabs and Persians settled in Canton were sufficiently numerous for them to be able to raise a tumult in the city and turn to their own profit the confusion thus created.[48] In fact politically the Arab empire was not stable and "it split up into various elements almost as quickly as it had been constructed. But as an economic and cultural power it remained of the greatest significance. It created for a time the conditions under which a revival both of prosperity and of learning was possible. The actual contribution of Arab scholars and of Arab artists is not so important as the work they enabled others to do. The empire was not so much Arab as Muslim, not a racial but a religious unity. 'Out of some sixteen geographers of note' (who wrote in Arabic), we are told by a modern historian, 'from the ninth to the thirteenth century, four were natives of Persia, four of Baghdad, and four of Spain'."[49]

Abul-Kasim-Obeidulla bin-Ahmad was among the earliest of these writers. He is better known as Ibn Khurdadbeh, his Persian

47. cf. Elliot and Dowson, i pp. 118-19.

48. Reinaud—*Relation* pp. xl-xlii and cix. Also Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 15.

49. Oakeshott—*op. cit.* pp. 48-9.

surname indicating that he was a descendant of a Magian, Khordadbeh by name. The latter embraced Islam like many of his co-religionists, and his grandson rose to a high position in the official world, and he was in a position to gather much authentic information on the various parts of the empire and the countries with which it maintained relations of one kind or another. His *Book of Routes and Kingdoms* was composed between 844 and 848 A.D., but was still being modified in 885 A.D.[50] Unfortunately, as Masūdī remarks, he presents his facts in a dry and incomplete manner (XVIII), and if he enters into details occasionally, it is only to refer to some quixotic legend. Yet, there is one precious passage describing the state of intercommunication between Europe and Asia in the second half of the ninth century:

IBN KHURDADBEH

"The Jewish merchants speak Persian, Roman (Greek and Latin), Arabic, and the French, Spanish and Slav languages. They travel from the West to the East, and from the East to the West, now by land and now by sea. They take from the West eunuchs, female slaves, boys, silk, furs and swords. They embark in the country of the Franks on the Western sea and sail to Farama; there they put their merchandise on the backs of animals and go by land marching for five days to Colzom, at a distance of twenty *parasangs*. Then they embark on the Eastern sea (Red Sea) and go from Colzom to Hedjaz and Jidda; and then to Sindh, India and China. On their return they bring musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon and other products of the eastern countries, and return to Colzom, and then to Farama where they take ship again on the Western sea, some going to Constantinople to sell their goods, and others to the country of the Franks.

"Sometimes the Jewish merchants, in embarking on the Western sea, sail (to the mouth of the Oronte) towards Antioch. At the end of a three days' march (from there), they reach the banks of the Euphrates and come to Baghdad. There they embark on the Tigris and descend to Obollah, whence they set sail to Oman, Sindh, India and China. The voyage is thus made without interruption."[51]

Abu Zaid Hassan, of Siraf on the Persian Gulf, though no great traveller himself, had immense opportunities of meeting much tra-

50. Reinaud—*Aboulfeda,* i. lvii-lviii; Ferrand—*Relations* pp. 21-2.
51. JA. 6:5 (1865) pp. 512-14. Reinaud—*Aboulfeda* i. p.lvii.

velled merchants and scholars, the celebrated Masūdī among them. Siraf was then a busy port frequented by merchants from all parts of the world, and Abu Zaid declares that his object was to supplement an earlier work on India and China by adding to it data drawn from his own studies and his talks with persons who had travelled in the eastern countries. Abu Zaid's prede-

SULEIMAN (?)

cessor who wrote his work in 851 A.D. has often been called Suleiman; but the evidence does not warrant anything more than the cautious conclusion of Yule, re-stated by Pelliot, that the work edited by Abu Zaid is a compilation of notes made by an anonymous writer "from his own experiences in at least two voyages he made to India at an interval of sixteen years and from what he had collected from others who had visited China, Suleiman among them."[52] "It is clear," says Yule, "from the vagueness of his accounts that the author's knowledge of India was slight and inaccurate, and that he had no distinct conception of its magnitude." (XIX. i). However that may be, he was largely drawn upon by Masūdī who had travelled in India and Ceylon and wanted to devote particular attention to India.[53] Ibn Al-Fakīh (902), another writer of the early tenth century,[54] who preceded Abu Zaid and Masūdī, also drew largely upon this anonymous writer whom Abu Zaid considered worthy of being edited more than half a century after the date of the original composition. In fact it is a common trait of Arab writers to copy one another extensively and it would be otiose to reproduce all their accounts.

Abu Zaid adds many interesting particulars (XIX, ii) to the notes of his predecessors. The accuracy of his information is established by the remarkably correct account he

ABU ZAID

gives of the political revolution that caused confusion in China soon after Suleiman's visit or visits to that country and had entirely stopped the Arab trade with China at the time he wrote his work.

There are many other Arab writers, travellers and geographers, of the tenth century,[55] besides those so far mentioned.

52. Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. 126. Pelliot in TP. 21 (1921) pp. 401-2. Reinaud himself had his own doubts on this subject in 1845, *Relation* pp. xiv-xv.

53. *Aboulfeda*, i.p.lxv.

54. Ferrand: *Relations* pp. 54-66, esp. 60-3.

55. Ibn Rosteh (903), Abu Dulaf Mis'ar Mulhallil (940), Ishtakri (951) and Ibn Hawkal (976) are among them. Particularly valuable for the *folklore of the Indian Ocean*, of which Sylvain Lévi has spoken, is *Kitāb 'Ajāyab-*

But their works have little on Southern India or at least little that is new except exaggerated and apocryphal accounts like that of the temple of Mānkīr (Malkhed) from the pen of Abū'l-Faradj (988).[56] The illustrious Al-Birūni (c. 1030) took the whole range of human sciences for his sphere; philosophy, mathematics, chronology, medicine, nothing escaped his attention; he knew Sanskrit very well and appears to have read even Greek works in the original.[57] He spent many years in India, was the friend of Mahmud of Ghazni and his son Mas'ūd, and was in correspondence with Avicenna. He died at Ghazni in 1048. His great work on India is an excellent account of Indian religion, philosophy, literature, chronology, astronomy, customs, law and astrology. His interesting fable on Kikhind (XX) attests the hold of the Rāma legends on the minds of the people and the attention paid to it by Al-Birūni himself.

AL BIRUNI

To return to the relations between Southern India and China. We have seen that the political troubles which broke out in China in the latter part of the ninth century had, as Abu Zaid remarked, put a stop to the maritime trade with the West. The foreigners at Canton and Chuan-chou had to seek refuge in Kalah on the West coast of the Malay peninsula and in Palembang in Sumatra. And for a time, foreign ships did not proceed beyond Kalah where they were met by Chinese vessels. This went on at least till Masūdi's visit to that place early in the tenth century.[58] What took place later when conditions in China again became favourable to trade is recorded in the *Sung* annals as follows:

CHINA TRADE INTERRUPTED

"In the 4th year *k'ai-pao* (A.D. 971) a Merchant Shipping office was established at Canton, and later on offices were also established at Hang-chou and Ming-chou (i.e., Ning-po). All Ta-shih (Arabs) and foreigners from Ku-lo (Kalah), She-p'o (Java), Chan-ch'eng (Annam), P'o-ni (Borneo), Ma-i (Philippine islands) and San-fo-ts'i (Palembang, Sumatra) exchanged at these places for gold, silver, strings of cash, lead, tin, colored silks, and porcelain-

REVIVAL

ul-Hind or *The Book of the Marvels of India* by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar—available in two editions (Vide Bibliography).

56. Ferrand: *Relations* pp. 119-20.

57. Reinaud, *Aboulfeda* i. p. xcv.

58. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

ware, their aromatics, rhinoceros horns, tusks of ivory, coral, amber, strings of pearls, steel, turtles' shells, tortoise-shell, cornelians, *ch'ih-k'u* shells, rock crystal, foreign textile fabrics, ebony, sapan-wood, etc. In the Emperor Tai-tsu's time (960-976) a Licence office was established at the capital, and orders were given that the foreign aromatic drugs and high priced goods brought to Canton, Kiao-chih (Tonkin), the Liang Chê and to Ch'üan-chou (Zayton) should be deposited in the governmental godowns, and that all private trading in pearls, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros horns, ivory, steel, turtles' shells, amber, cornelians and frankincense outside of the official markets was forbidden. All objects not included in the above list might be freely dealt in by the people."[59]

Besides these steps to monopolise the luxury trade with foreigners and regulate all foreign trade, the Chinese government also endeavoured successfully to increase its volume by sending a trade mission abroad and offering special licences. And this new trade movement reached its greatest extension during the southern Sung dynasty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in course of time the growth of an illicit trade in luxuries brought about a drain of metallic currency that created anxiety in China.[60]

CORREA'S EVIDENCE

A casual statement of Gaspar Correa, the Portuguese traveller who came to India in 1512 and died there in 1563, throws a welcome light on the commercial relations between China and South India towards the close of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, and implies that the island of Formosa also took a share in this trade. Correa says: "By the time the Portuguese ships arrived (at Calicut in 1498), four centuries had elapsed since the year when there came more than eight hundred sailing ships from Malacca, China and the land of the Lequeos (Formosa), —ships, great and small, manned by people of various nationalities and charged with very rich merchandise which they brought for sale. They came to Calicut, navigated the entire coast up to Cambay, and they were so numerous that they spread themselves over the whole country."[61]

59. TP. xv p. 420, n. 1.
60. See Rockhill in TP. xv, pp. 419-21.
61. Cited by Ferrand JA: 11:12 (1918), p. 121.

Cho'u K'ü-fei, writing in 1178, gives a short and valuable sketch of the route taken by Arab merchants in his time: "(Traders) coming from the country of the Ta-shī, after travelling south to Quilon (Ku-lin) on small vessels, transfer to big ships, and proceeding east, they make Palembang (San-fo-ts'i). After this they come to China by the same route as the Palembang ships."[62]

CHOU K'U-FEI

Of the countries engaged in trade with China, the same writer says: "Of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods, none surpass the realm of the Arabs (Ta-shī). Next to them comes Java (Shö-p'o); the third is Palembang (San-fo-ts'i); many others come in the next rank."[63] Southern India does not figure among the states taking the front rank in the China trade, though in another passage, Cho'u-k'ü-fei does make mention of ships from Quilon as distinct from those of the Arabs,[64] and Quilon was the chief port of South India in this period. But the omission of South India may be merely due to the fact that the Arabs were the most active sailors of the time doing a large carrying trade for South India among other lands, and that the Chinese vaguely ascribed to their native land all the products they fetched in their ships. However that may be, the Chinese attempts to revive foreign trade which began in the later part of the tenth century happened to coincide with the rise of the greatest empire of the Tamils, the Cōḷa empire of Rājarāja I and his successors. And the maritime power of this empire was by no means negligible, and the Chinese books bear testimony to the political embassies that were received in China from the Cōḷa empire of this period. The first mission to reach China from the Cōḷa country was that of 1015. Of this mission, the *Sung-shi* and Ma Twan-lin record fairly full details which will be found extracted elsewhere in this book (Notes to XXIII, D). Though the whole journey of the embassy extended over three years, the envoys were under sail for only 247 days during that period. They said that the king of their country was called Lo-tsa-lo-tsa (Rājarāja). That monarch sent the emperor of China many valuable presents, and the envoys added to them some on their own account. There was another embassy in 1033

COLA EMBASSIES

62. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 24.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 23, n. 2.

from Shi-lo-lo-cha Yin-to-lo-chu-lo, Śrī Rājēndra Cōḷa, and yet another in 1077 when the king of Chu-lien was Ti-hua-kia-lo, which is a name not easy to explain.[65]

A MON RECORD ON A COLA PRINCE

The foreign contacts of the Cōḷa empire in this period are attested also by a curious passage in a Moṅ inscription from Prome of the reign of Kyan-Zitthā (1084-1112 A.D.) which makes a cryptic reference to the conversion of a Cōḷa prince to Buddhism (XXI). The identity of the Cōḷa prince who changed his creed and subsequently offered his daughter in marriage to the Moṅ ruler cannot be determined at present.

EDRISI

The great geographer Edrisi, whose work was written under the patronage of Roger II of Sicily and completed in 1153-4, depended exclusively on the writings of his predecessors like Ibn-Khurdadbeh and Ibn-Hawkal for what he said on India. Yule[66] has characterised his account of south-eastern Asia, including India, as very meagre and confused. "Professing to give the distances between places," continues Yule, "he generally underestimates these enormously, insomuch that in a map compiled from his distances Asia would, I apprehend, assume very contracted dimensions."

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA

Only a few years later than Edrisi was the Jewish traveller from Spain, Benjamin of Tudela, who has some interesting remarks to offer on Quilon and South India (XXII). Yule doubts if the travels of Benjamin (1159-73) extended farther east than the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf and says that what he relates of India is to all appearance hearsay.[67]

CHAU JU-KUA

One of the most valuable notices of the kingdoms of South India in the Middle Ages is that of Chau Ju-Kua (XXIII), the Chinese inspector of foreign trade, who compiled his work called *Chu-fan-chī* about 1225 A.D.[68] The editors of this work give the following estimate of Chau-Ju-Kua: "His notes to a certain extent

65. See Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2 and *The Cōḷas* for further details of these embassies.

66. *Cathay* i. p. 141. Extracts relating to India may be read conveniently in Elliot and Dowson i. pp. 75-93.

67. *Cathay* i. pp. 144-5.

68. TP. xiii (1912) p. 449.

are second-hand information, but notwithstanding this, he has placed on record much original matter, facts and information of great interest. The large percentage of clear and simple matter-of-fact data we find in his work, as compared with the improbable and incredible admixtures which we are accustomed to encounter in all oriental authors of his time, gives him a prominent place among the mediaeval authors on the ethnography of his time, a period particularly interesting to us, as it precedes by about a century Marco Polo, and fills a gap in our knowledge of China's relations with the outside world extending from the Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the days of the great Venetian traveller."[69]

THE MONGOL EMPIRE

Soon after, the Sung empire fell before the Mongols. In 1251 Mangu Khan became the great Khan, and appointed his brother Kublai Khan as the governor-general of China. Kublai, an able and energetic commander and statesman, set about subjugating, by slow and sure stages, the whole of the Sung empire. Mangu died in 1259, and Kublai became the Great Khan in 1260. From this time to his death in 1294, his was the most celebrated court in the world. Under the Mongol domination there were in fact fewer obstacles to China communicating with the other countries of the world than at any other time. And the fame of the Great Khan that had spread far and wide attracted many persons of various types from all parts of the world to China. Scholars and artists, merchants, missionaries and ambassadors, musicians and jugglers, came crowding in. And living in China for many years together, Kublai himself became more and more Chinese in sympathy, habits and outlook. Good roads and a quick and efficient postal service made for a surprisingly well-organised system of communications within the vast limits of the Mongol empire. According to Marco Polo, Zayton (Chüan-chou) as a port easily surpassed Alexandria in the heyday of its prosperity. Chinese influence spread rapidly in this period to the archipelago and in a measure even to India; we hear of Chinese soldiers in the service of the Ceylonese king in 1266 A.D.,[70] and the travellers of the period attest the presence of considerable numbers of Chinamen in the ports on the West coast of India.[71]

69. p. 39.
70. Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. 75.
71. It may be noted in passing that even travellers who took the land route across Asia from China to the West were interested in things Indian.

KUBLAI'S EMBASSIES

The restlessness of Kublai Khan and his vanity or scientific curiosity, together with the very unsettled political conditions that prevailed in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom towards the close of the thirteenth century, brought about a very active exchange of political embassies between the Chinese court and the South Indian powers between the years 1279 and 1292, and these embassies have been succinctly discussed by Rockhill with citations from the Chinese annals of the period (XXIV), the *Yüan Shih.* The presence of Buddha relics in Ceylon was another factor which provided some of the missions with a definite objective.

PANDYAN POLITICS

The legitimate king of Ma'bar who sent a secret message to the ambassador of Kublai Khan in 1281 must have been Kulaśēkhara, the Kales Dewar of whom Wassaf, the great Muslim historian of Shiraz, has given the following account: "Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country, nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardi (Madura) there were 1,200 crores of gold deposited, every crore being equal to a thousand

About 1254, Friar William of Rubruck records that he met the envoy of a certain Sultan of India, who had brought as presents to Mangu Khan "eight leopards and ten greyhounds taught to sit on horses' backs, as leopards sit." (Rockhill, *The Journey of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 248). In 1259 Chang Te wrote the following account of India: "The country of *Yin-du* (Hindusthan) is the nearest to China. The population of it is estimated at twelve millions of families. There are in that country famous medicines, great walnuts, precious stones, *Ki she* (cloves), *pin t'ie* (fine steel) and other products. In this kingdom there are large bells suspended near the palace of the ruler. People who have to prefer a complaint strike against the bell. Then their names are registered and their cause is investigated. The houses are made of reeds. As it is very hot there in summer, people pass the whole time in the water." (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* i. p. 146). The same writer also notes that 'diamonds came from *Yin-du.* The people take flesh and throw it into the great valleys (of the mountains). Then birds come and eat this flesh, after which diamonds are found in their excrements.' (*ib.* pp. 151-2). The bell of justice and the method of getting diamonds are perhaps old fables; the latter is traced by Major in Epiphanius' (d. 403 A.D.) account of the mode of collecting jacinths in Scythia. (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. xlii). Both, however, were well known in South India—the bell of justice in the story of Manu, the legendary Cōḷa king, and the diamond gathering method applied to the mines of Golconda.

laks, and every lak to one hundred thousand dinars. Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies turquoises, and emeralds,—more than is in the power of language to express. (Here follows a long string of reflections upon the instability of worldly wealth and grandeur.)

"This fortunate and happy sovereign had two sons, the elder named Sundar Pandi, who was legitimate, his mother being joined to the Dewar by lawful marriage, and the younger named Tira Pandi, was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses who continually attended the king in his banquet of pleasure; for it was customary with the rulers of that country that, when the daily affairs of the administration were over, and the crowds that attended the court had gone to their respective homes, a thousand beautiful courtezans used to attend the king in his pleasure. They used to perform the several duties prescribed to each of them; some were appointed as chamberlains, some as interpreters, some as cup-bearers, and day and night both the sexes kept promiscuous intercourse together; and it was usual for the king to invite to his bed that girl upon whom the lot should happen to fall. I have mentioned this in illustration of their customs.

"As Tira Pandi was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity, the ruler nominated him as his successor. His brother Sundar Pandi, being enraged at this supersession, killed his father, in a moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 H. (1310 A.D.), and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi. He induced the troops who were there to support his interests, and conveyed some of the royal treasures which were deposited there to the city of Mankul, and he himself accompanied, marching on, attended in royal pomp with the elephants, horses and treasures. Upon this his brother Tira Pandi, being resolved on avenging his father's blood, followed to give him battle, and on the margin of a lake which, in their language, they call Talachi, the opponents came to action. Both the brothers, each ignorant of the fate of the other, fled away; but Tira Pandi being unfortunate (*tira bakht*); and having been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and seven elephant-loads of gold also fell to the lot of the army of Sundar Pandi.

"It is a saying of philosophers, that ingratitude will, sooner or later, meet its punishment, and this was proved in the sequel, for Manar Barmul, the son of the daughter of Kales Dewar, who

espoused the cause of Tira Pandi, being at that time at Karamhatti, near Kalul, sent him assistance, both in men and money, which was attended with a most fortunate result. Sundar Pandi had taken possession of the kingdom, and the army and the treasure were his own; but, as in every religion and faith, evil deeds produce a life of insecurity, a matter which it is unnecessary to expatiate upon, he, notwithstanding all his treasures and the good-will of the army, was far from being happy and prosperous, entertaining crude notions, and never awaking from his dream of pride, and at last he met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for in the middle of the year 710 (1310 A.D.) Tira Pandi, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandi, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of 'Alau-d-din, of Delhi, and Tira Pandi became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.

"While I was engaged in writing this passage, one of my friends said to me: 'The kings of Hind are celebrated for their penetration and wisdom; why then did Kales Dewar, during his life-time, nominate his younger and illegitimate son as his successor, to the rejection of the elder, who was of pure blood, by which he introduced distraction into a kingdom which had been adorned like a bride.'"[72]

The troubles between Kulaśēkhara's children that ended so disastrously for him and his kingdom evidently started very much earlier in his reign. The affairs of the South Indian Kingdom round about 1281 as recorded in the *Yüan-shih* give sufficient indication of this. Even the great Kublai Khan could not have interceded with any tangible effect in the affairs of so remote a country; but we owe it to his interest in these distant lands that we have before us a business-like record of occurrences in South India of which we should have otherwise remained ignorant. But the questions arising out of these diplomatic embassies cannot be pursued further here.

MARCO POLO

'Marco Polo's journey to the East was the beginning of direct contact between the Far East and Europe—with the exception of the Roman embassy of the time of Marcus Aurelius recorded above.'[73] This 'prince of mediaeval travellers' reached the court of Kublai Khan after a hazardous journey of three years and a half

72. Elliot and Dowson: iii, pp. 52-4.
73. Oakeshott, *op. cit.* p. 87.

across Asia. He became a great favourite of the Khan and spent seventeen years with him, being employed by him in several important missions in different parts of his empire. Finally he was chosen to escort a princess of the Khan's family, who had to be sent as a bride for the ruler of Persia. He left China in 1292 and his voyage to Persia through the Indian seas lasted about a year and a half. Thence he travelled to Constantinople, and finally reached Venice in 1295.

During the years that Marco Polo spent in the East he had exceptional opportunities for observation, and he used them well. He was only passing through some parts of South India on his way to Persia, and the amount of information he was able to collect on these countries is indeed surprising. His work has come down in several recensions of varying authenticity, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish what he wrote from later accretions. And for a time his name passed under a cloud and his veracity was impeached partly on account of the fables that had crept into copies of his work. But now, as Yule observes, 'his veracity and justness of observation still shine brighter under every recovery of lost or forgotten knowledge.'[74] Marco Polo was doubtless himself responsible for some of the fictitious and fabulous statements in his book, for he often records the things he heard in addition to those he saw, and perhaps he did not always understand correctly what he saw in so many strange lands. But when all deductions have been made, his narrative still remains an invaluable source of knowledge about the countries he touched.

It is with his return voyage by sea from China to Persia that we are primarily concerned (XXV), and I can do no better than reproduce the following summary and estimate by Major of this part of Marco's travels: "He touched at the kingdom of Ziamba (Tsiampa, Campā), where he learned much of Great Java or Java, though he did not himself visit either that island or Borneo. He then sailed southward, and passing the small island of Pentan (Bintang) came to Java Minor, under which name he designates Sumatra. He appears then to have sailed along its coast through the Straits of Malacca to Seilan (Ceylon), noticing on his way the island Angaman (Andaman Islands). After some stay at Ceylon he sailed to Maabar, which, however, must not be confounded with Malabar, but is the coast of Coromandel. He notices its fine cot-

74. *Cathay*: i, p. 165.

tons; also its various superstitions, as the worship of the cow, the abstinence from animal food, the courtezans dedicated to the service of the temple, and the acts of voluntary self-sacrifice to their gods, as well as the custom of females burning themselves after the death of their husbands. Then passing Cape Comorin he sailed along the coasts of Malabar, where he notices the abundance of pepper and ginger; then along those of Guzerat and Cambaia, and so, across the Indian Ocean, home.

"In the course of his inquiries and explorations, Marco Polo took pains to make himself acquainted with the natural history of each country, and especially with such products as by their costliness or usefulness might become valuable as articles of commerce. By his observations on the manufactures and navigation of different countries, he constantly shows his sense of what would be chiefly interesting to a maritime and commercial people like the Venetians, to whose nation he belonged; and a rich field for such observation lay before him. The commerce of India he found stretching, like an immense chain, from the territories of Kublai Khan to the shores of the Persian Gulf and of the Red Sea. He found the shores and the islands of the India Sea luxuriantly covered with nature's choicest productions. In lieu of wine, the palm tree gave its milk, and the bread fruit tree afforded its wholesome food. The betel nut, and spices, and everything which might flatter the palate of man, he found in rich abundance in those climates, and if he does not minutely describe them, he at least names the different plants from which these luxuries were procured. Nor is he silent upon those less useful but not less highly prized productions of India which are derived from beneath the surface of the earth. He tells us of the topaz, the amethyst, and the emerald, of the sapphires of Ceylon, and the diamonds of Golconda, and the rubies from the mountains of Thibet."[75]

TRADE RESTRICTION IN CHINA

The *Yüan shih* records an attempt on the part of the Chinese government in 1296 to prohibit the export of gold and silver, as also to limit the value of the trade with Ma'bar (Coromandel), Kulam (Quilon), and Fandaraina to a relatively small sum of money.[76] Ma Twan-lin records that about 1300 A.D. many Brahmins from India were found in the court of Pan-pan, and that,

75. Major: *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. li-lii.
76. TP. xv. pp. 425–6.

being much in favour with the ruler of the land, they received rich gifts from him.[77]

By the side of the bright star of Marco Polo, other European travellers of the Middle Ages seem to lack lustre. But if the Venetian merchant represents one side of the culture contacts between the West and the East, the three monks who visited South India soon after Marco Polo represent another.

CHRISTIAN FRIARS

First among them was the Franciscan friar John of Monte Corvino who 'already nearly fifty years of age' plunged alone into China, 'that great ocean of Paganism, and of what he deemed little better, Nestorianism, to preach the Gospel.'[78] His travel to China by way of India fell in 1292-3. He became later archbishop of Cambluc where he died in 1328. This lonely monk was out of sympathy with much that he saw in India (XXVI); with him may be said to begin the stream of Christian missionary criticism of Indian life and habits which has not always been either intelligent or charitable. John's account of ships and navigation in the Indian seas has much in common with similar statements of other writers and may be usefully compared with them.

JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO

Nearly thirty years after John of Monte Corvino left the shores of India came Friar Odoric of Pordenone, who was in India soon after 1321. From Hormuz he embarked for Tana near Bombay (XXVII-A); either here or from Surat, "he gathered the bones of four brethren who had suffered there in 1321 (as related by Friar Jordanus) and carried them with him on his voyage eastward. He went on to Malabar, touching at Pandarani, Cranganor, and Kulam (Quilon), and proceeded thence to Ceylon and the shrine of St. Thomas at Mailāpūr, the modern Madras."[79] His account of some Hindu customs and practices is doubtless that of an eye-witness (XXVII B, C, D).

ODORIC

Lastly we have Friar Jordanus. It is possible that Jordanus first came to India some years before Odoric, and two of his letters are dated from India in 1321 and 1324. In both of them, he holds out to his brother Friars in Europe the prospect of extensive mis-

JORDANUS

77. JA: 11:13 (1919) p. 255. P'an-p'an was, according to Pelliot, in the Malay peninsula, between Tenasserim and Kedah (BEFEO, iv, p. 229).
78. Yule: *Cathay*, i. p. 169.
79. Yule: *Cathay*, ii. p. 10.

sionary work in the East (XXVIII-A). He says, for instance in his letter of 1321 A.D.: "I will only say a word as to the harvest to be expected, that it promises to be great and encouraging. Let friars be getting ready to come, for there are three places that I know where they might reap a great harvest and where they could live in common. One of these is Supera where two Friars might be stationed; and a second is in the district of Parocco, where two or three might abide; and the third is Columbus; besides many others that I am not acquainted with."[80] The three places named here are Supara, Broach and Quilon. Jordanus was appointed Bishop of Columbum[81] (or Columbus, Quilon) in 1328, and it is most likely that he wrote *Mirabilia* between this date and that of his second departure from Europe, 1330.[82] It is not known that Jordanus ever reached Columbum as its bishop. His mention of the Parsis in India and their mode of exposing the dead deserves to be noted as among the earliest notices of this community, if not actually the first account of them (XXVIII B, C).

JOHN DE MARIGNOLLI

There is one more friar we must notice; he is John of Marignolli, a native of Florence. He was appointed Papal legate to the court of the Great Khan in response to a request from him received by the Pope ten years after the death of John of Monte Corvino, the founder of the Cathay mission and Archbishop of Cambluc. Like Marco Polo, John of Marignolli took the land route to China and left China by sea *via* Zayton in 1346 or 1347. Of the voyage that followed he says nothing more than that he arrived at Columbum (Quilon) in Malabar (XXXI-A). "He remained with the Christians of Columbum upwards of a year, and then, during the south-west monsoon of 1348 or 1349, set sail for the Coromandel coast to visit the shrine of Thomas the Apostle. After passing only four days there," he went to Saba, which has not been satisfactorily identified, though it seems probable that some part of Sumatra is meant. When he quitted Saba, he was overtaken by a storm which drove his vessel to Ceylon perhaps against his wish. And in spite of his unpleasant experiences in the island at the hands of a Mussalman chieftain, Marignolli's recollections of Ceylon were very pleasant and he locates the Earthly Paradise very near that island

80. Yule. *Cathay*, iii. p. 77.
81. This is the usual form of the name in Sanskrit works.
82. Yule, *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

if not actually there. His account of the Buddhist monks of Ceylon makes interesting reading. He returned to Europe in 1353 and wrote down his recollections soon after (XXXI B, C). He was perhaps an aged man at the time.[83]

ABULFEDA

Abulféda (1273—1331), the celebrated Arab historian and geographer, does not mark any great advance in knowledge relating to India. His notices of South India are brief, vague and secondhand (XXIX). He cites the inveterate traveller and geographer Ibn Sa'id (1214—1274 or 1286) quite often.

IBN BATTUTA.

On the other hand the Moorish traveller Ibn Battūtā was an indefatigable explorer. Born in Tangier about 1300, he left his native place at the age of twenty-two, and continued to travel incessantly for the next thirty years. He died at Fez in 1377. He did not write his work himself, but was content 'to dictate to a copyist the description of the towns he visited, the anecdotes and history he could recall and so on.' He was by profession a doctor of the Muhammadan law and traditions. A detailed summary of his experiences in South India will be found reproduced from Yule elsewhere in this book (XXX-C-i) as an introduction to the translation of the original narrative which follows. "The adventures which befell Ibn Battūtā during his long sojourn in India," says Major, "form one of the most curious and eventful chapters of his peregrinations; and this part of his narrative derives additional interest from the details which he introduces, not only of the natural productions and agriculture of the country, but of the manners, institutions and history of Hindustan, under the Affghan dynasties, which preceded for nearly three hundred years the establishment of the Mogul power. He gives an historical retrospect, extending from the first conquest of Delhi by the Muhammedans under Kotbed-din Ai-bek, in 1188, to the accession of the reigning sovereign, Sultān Muhammed, the son of Tughlak, in 1325; which is especially valuable from the additional facts which it supplies, and the light thrown on many of the transactions recorded by Ferishta. This preliminary sketch is continued by the personal narrative of Ibn Battūtā himself, whose fortune led him to India at the crisis when the unity of the Patan power (at all times rather an aristocracy of military leaders than a consolidated monarchy) was on the point of dissolution, from the mad tyranny of Sultan

83. Yule: *Cathay*, iii. pp. 177-207.

Muhammed, which drove all the governors of provinces into open revolt, and led to the erection of independent kingdoms in Bengal, the Dekhan, etc. On the arrival of an embassy from the emperor of China, he gladly accepted an appointment as one of the envoys destined to convey the gifts sent in return by Sultan Muhammed; and receiving his outfit and credentials, quitted without delay the dangerous walls of Delhi early in the year of the Hejira 743 (A.D. 1342)."[84]

SIDI ALI

Sidi Ali Celibī (1554) is one of the latest among the foreign Muhammadan writers on India. He was an admiral, poet and writer. He came to India, and visited important towns in it in order to get into touch with the learned men in the country and to collect all books in Arabic, Persian and Turkish treating of the art of navigation. He returned to Constantinople by the land route across the N.W. of India, Badakshan, Transoxiana and Persia. Some sailing directions from his treatise called *Mohit, The Ocean,* are reproduced in an Appendix (App. IV). He based his work on ten earlier works, three ancient and seven modern. Among the modern authorities used by Sidi Ali was Ahmad Ibn Mâjid (A.D. 1489-90), who called himself "Master of Navigation and Lion of the Raging Sea." Though the Portuguese sources are not clear on this point, it seems possible that he helped Vasco da Gama to reach India. In his *Nautical Instructions* he often refers to the opinions of Cōḷa mariners, and so does Suleiman al Mahrī (C 1511-53). Ibn Mâjid records that in his day, at the commencement of the period of Saba (east winds) a flotilla of ships left Ḳomar (Madagascar) to the destination of Zang (part of the East African coast, say 3° N.L. to 3° S.L.), of Marima (same coast, say 8° to 11° S.L.), of Hormuz and of Al-Hind (the West coast of India).[85]

AHMAD IBN MAJID

WANG TA-YUAN

Contemporary with Ibn Battūtā was the Chinése merchant Wang Ta-Yüan who visited a number of foreign countries for purposes of trade between the years 1330 and 1349. His *Tao i chi lio* (Description of the Barbarians of the Isles) is therefore for the most part the account of an eye-witness and thus superior to that of Chau Ju-Kua who wrote from hearsay. This book describes no

84. Major: *India in the Fifteenth Century*: pp. liv-lv.; Also Ferrand: *Relations*, pp. 426-27.

85. Ferrand, JA: 11:13, p. 484; and 11:14 pp. 171-2.

fewer than ninety-nine countries, ports and noteworthy localities, and follows closely the model set by Chau Ju-Kua (XXXII). Though his literary style is said to be poor, his work gives evidence of wide learning and a philosophic turn of mind.[86]

In 1382, an embassy from Java to China took "black slaves, men and women, to the number of one hundred, eight large pearls, and 75,000 *catti* of pepper,"[87] which shows that towards the end of the fourteenth century the interrelations between China, Java and India continued more or less unchanged.

MING POLICY

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, 'the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, whose reign is known under the title of *Yong-lo* (1403-25) sent out a series of naval expeditions overseas which established the fame and the supremacy of the new dynasty far and wide and which prompted a score of princes to despatch embassies to the Chinese court and pay homage to the Emperor.'[88] These embassies were stupendous enterprises, comprising a fleet of 62 vessels and 37,000 soldiers on the first occasion, each ship being 440 feet by 180. And among their commanders none was more famous than the eunuch Cheng Ho. The initial motive of these embassies lay in the desire of the emperor to ascertain the whereabouts of his nephew *Kien Wen* dethroned by him and suspected to have hidden himself somewhere in the countries beyond the sea.[89]

CHENG HO

Cheng Ho was accompanied in these voyages by two persons whose writings throw much welcome light on the state of the countries they visited. One was Fei Hsin whose work *Hsing cha sheng lan* or 'Description of the star raft' bears a preface dated 1436 and thus forms one of the earliest accounts we have of the celebrated voyages of Cheng Ho. We do not know in what capacity Fei Hsin was attached to Cheng Ho's suite. His work describes forty countries or localities; the author borrows much from earlier writers but also gives much that is new, and sometimes elucidates and supplements the brief notes of his predecessors (XXXIII).[90]

FEI HSIN

86. Rockhill, TP. xvi, pp. 61-9.
87. JA: 11:14, p. 6.
88. Duyvendak, *Ma Huan Re-examined*, p. 3.
89. Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* ii. p. 142, n 890.
90. TP. xvi, pp. 73-6 and Duyvendak *op. cit.*

The other was the better known Ma Huan, a Chinese Muslim, who, on account of his knowledge of foreign languages, was attached as Interpreter to the expedition of 1412-13. The voyages of Cheng Ho and the texts of Ma Huan have been recently studied at some length and with great critical acumen by Duyvendak and Pelliot, and it seems desirable to state here the broad conclusions that emerge from these studies.

MA HUAN

The first voyage to the Western seas was ordered in the sixth month of the third year of Yong-lo; i.e., 27th June-25th July 1405. In the voyage Cheng Ho visited Calicut (Ku-li) where he erected a stéle, and probably visited Ceylon. On his return he captured the pirate Chen-Tsu-yi of Palembang and carried him to China where he was put to death.[91] The second voyage was in Sep.—Oct. 1408 and was primarily directed to Ceylon though it went as far as Cochin and Calicut (Fei Hsin). The king of this island, A-lie-k'ou-nai-eul (Alagakkonāra, i.e., Vijaya Bāhu VI) lured Cheng Ho into the interior and then despatched soldiers to pillage his ships in his absence. Cheng Ho rose equal to the occasion. When he found the interior depleted of its soldiers, he put himself at the head of the 2000 men or so that he had with him and took the capital city and made prisoners of A-lie-k'ou-nai-eul, his wife and children, together with his principal officials. In June-July 1411, Cheng Ho presented his prisoners at the Chinese Court, the emperor was merciful to them and set them free to return to their country. There is a Chinese inscription in Ceylon, discovered at Galle in 1911, commemorating this visit of Cheng Ho to Ceylon.[92] The third voyage lasted from December 1412—Jan. 1413 to Aug.—Septr. 1415. Ma Huan went on this voyage in the course of which Ceylon, Cochin, Calicut, the Maldives and Ormuz were visited. The *Ming shih* adds Kāyal to the list. Thus in this voyage Cheng Ho went beyond India for the first time. The fourth voyage was from 1416 to 1419. Ma Huan was not on this embassy which went up to Africa and as a result of which nineteen kingdoms sent embassies bearing tribute to China. Ma Huan joined the fifth voyage (1421-22), an exceptionally rapid one which induced fifteen states, Calicut among others, to send embassies to China in 1423. The sixth voyage lasted from February 1424 to March 1425, and before

CHENG HO'S VOYAGES

91. cf. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 434.
92. *Spolia Zeylanica*, viii (1913) pp. 122-32.

it returned, there had occurred a change on the Chinese throne. The new emperor was opposed to these voyages and posted Cheng Ho to guard the southern capital, Nanking. But this emperor died in May 1425, and his successor revived the old practice five years later. In the seventh and last voyage (1430) Cheng Ho visited Calicut, Quilon and Cochin, and according to the *Ming Shih* the Maldives also were visited by Cheng Ho, Ma Huan and Fei Hsin. Possibly Ma Huan went to Mecca on this occasion.

Cheng Ho himself, it may be noted, though a Mussulman and son of a *haji*, showed an inclination to Buddhism with that eclecticism of which there were many instances in the Mongol period.[93]

The knowledge of the world gathered by the Chinese as a result of these expeditions was proved inadequate by the coming of the Europeans soon after; but the accounts of these voyages fill a gap from Marco Polo and Ibn Battūtā to the early Portuguese.

MA HUAN'S TEXT

Ma Huan's work was first published in 1451. Ma Huan's style was that of an unlettered sailor, prolix and lacking in literary quality. The book is called *Ying-yai-sheng-lan*, 'Description of the coasts of the Ocean.' Both Groenveldt and Phillips used this original text. Rockhill's translations were made from the polished and revised version of Chang Sheng dating from 1522 (XXXIV).[94]

OTHER NOTICES

Some extracts of unusual interest, bearing on navigation in the Indian Ocean at the close of the fifteenth century (App. I), on the part played by Gujaratis in the maritime trade of the Middle Ages (App. II), and on the Indian merchants and merchandise in Malaka (App. III) are included in the Appendix.

93. Pelliot: *Les grands voyages maritimes Chinois au début du XVe siècle*, TP. xxx (1933), pp. 237-452; and *Encore a propos des voyages des Tcheng Houo*, TP. xxxii (1936), pp. 210-22.

94. Duyvendak, *op. cit.*

I. MEGASTHENES

(A) *Of Taprobanê*

Megasthenes says that Taprobanê is separated *from the mainland* by a river; that the inhabitants are called Palaiogonoi,[1] and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India. Taprobanê is separated *from India* by a river flowing between; for one part of it abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds, and man claims the other part.

—*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, J. W. McCrindle, pp. 62-63.

(B) *i. Pāṇḍya*

The Pandaean nation is governed by females, and their first queen is said to have been the daughter of Hercules. The city Nysa is assigned to this region, as is also the mountain sacred to Jupiter, Meros by name, in a cave on which the ancient Indians affirm Father Bacchus was nourished; while the name has given rise to the well-known fantastic story that Bacchus was born from the thigh of his father. Beyond the mouth of the Indus are two islands, Chryse and Argyre, which yield such an abundant supply of metals that many writers allege their soils consist of gold and of silver.

—*Op. cit.* 156.

ii. Of Hercules and Pandaea

Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.[2]

—*Op. cit.* 158-59.

1. McCrindle explains this term as Pāli-Janas, 'men of the sacred doctrine', which is hardly satisfactory.

2. See *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 34.

(C) *Of the Beasts of India.*[3]

(17) In the sea which has been mentioned they say there is a very large island, of which, as I hear, the name is Taprobane. From what I can learn, it appears to be a very long and mountainous island, having a length of 7000 stadia and a breadth of 5000.[4] It has not, however, any cities, but only villages, of which the number amounts to 750. The houses in which the inhabitants lodge themselves are made of wood, and sometimes also of reeds.

(18) In the sea which surrounds the islands, tortoises are bred of so vast a size that their shells are employed to make roofs for the houses: for a shell, being fifteen cubits in length, can hold a good many people under it, screening them from the scorching heat of the sun, besides affording them a welcome shade. But, more than this, it is a protection against the violence of storms of rain far more effective than tiles, for it at once shakes off the rain that dashes against it, while those under its shelter hear the rain rattling as on the roof of a house. At all events they do not require to shift their abode, like those whose tiling is shattered, for the shell is hard and like a hollowed rock and the vaulted roof of a natural cavern.

TORTOISES

The island then, in the great sea, which they call Taprobane, has palm-groves, where the trees are planted with wonderful regularity all in a row, in the way we see the keepers of pleasure-parks plant out shady trees in the choicest spots. It has also herds of elephants, which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of the Kalingai. On account of the great size of the island, the inhabitants of the interior have never seen the sea, but pass their lives as if resident on a

ELEPHANTS

3. There is no conclusive evidence that these curious fragments preserved in Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, are from Megasthenes, see *n* at page 159 of McCrindle (*Megasthenes and Arrian*). Aelian was a contemporary of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.).

4. 'In the classical writers the size of this island is always greatly exaggerated.'—McCrindle.

continent, though no doubt they learn from others that they are all around enclosed by the sea. The inhabitants, again, of the coast have no practical acquaintance with elephant-catching, and know of it only by report. All their energy is devoted to catching fish and the monsters of the deep; for the sea encircling the island is reported to breed an incredible number of fish, both of the smaller fry and of the monstrous sort, among the latter being some which have the heads of lions and of panthers and of other wild beasts, and also of rams; and, what is still a greater marvel, there are monsters which in all points of their shape resemble satyrs. Others are in appearance like women, but, instead of having locks of hair, are furnished with prickles. It is even solemnly alleged that this sea contains certain strangely formed creatures, to represent which in a picture would baffle all the skill of the artists of the country, even though, with a view to make a profound sensation, they are wont to paint monsters which consist of different parts of different animals pieced together. These have their tails and the parts which are wreathed of great length, and have for feet either claws or fins. I learn further that they are amphibious, and by night graze on the pasture fields, for they eat grass like cattle and birds that pick up seeds. They have also a great liking for the date when ripe enough to drop from the palms, and accordingly they twist their coils, which are supple, and large enough for the purpose, around these trees, and shake them so violently that the dates come tumbling down, and afford them a welcome repast. Thereafter when the night begins gradually to wane, but before there is yet clear daylight, they disappear by plunging into the sea just as the first flush of morning faintly illumines its surface. They say whales also frequent this sea, though it is not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for thunnies. The dolphins are reported to be of two sorts—one fierce and armed with sharp-pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fisherman, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition, while the other kind is naturally mild and tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog. It does not run away when any one tries to stroke it, and takes with pleasure any food it is offered.

SEA MONSTERS

—*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, J. W. McCrindle, pp. 169-72.

II. KĀÑCĪ AND CHINA IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

Pan Kou, a Chinese writer who lived not later than the end of the first century A.D., says in his *Ts'ien han chou* :

ITINERARY

" From the gates of Je-nan,[1] from Siu-Wen and Ho-p'ou travelling by boat for five months we reach the kingdom of Ton-Yuan. After a further journey of about four months by sea is reached the kingdom of Yi-lou-mo. By sailing still further for a period of over twenty days, the kingdom of Chen-li is reached. From there you travel more than ten days by land to the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou.[2] From the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou, going by boat for more than two months you reach the kingdom of Houang-tche. The habits of the people there generally resemble those of the people of Tchou-yai. These are extensive and populous lands, full of strange products. From the time of Emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.) all of them have been sending tribute.[3] There are official interpreters who belong to the (administration of the) palace *houang-men* (yellow-gate) ; with the recruits they go by sea to buy shining pearls, glass,[4] rare stones and strange products, giving gold and silks in exchange. In the lands to which they go, the people supply them with food and join them in their repast. The merchant ships of the foreigners take them to their destination by turns. These foreigners also profit by the trade ; (besides) they also plunder and kill people. Moreover (the passengers) have to be afraid of tempests which drown them. If nothing happens, they take many years to go and come back. The large pearls measure up to seven inches.[5] In the period of *Yuan-che* (1-6 A.D.) of the emperor P'ing, Wang Mang desired to transform the government and manifest stately power. He sent rich presents to the king of Houang-tche and asked him to send an embassy bringing a live rhinoceros as tribute. From the kingdom of Houang-tche, going by boat for about eight months, we reach P'i-tsong.[6] Travelling again by sea for about two months, we get to the frontier of Siang-

1. Upper Annam, at the interior of the Gulf of Tonkin.
2. Pagan—Ferrand, JA. 11. 14, p. 47.
3. i.e. have had trade relations with China. See *Cōḷas*, ii. p. 25.
4. *pi-lieou-li*, sometimes taken to be *vaiḍūrya*. See *n.* 1 under XI post.
5. Pelliot himself expresses a doubt about his translation of this sentence.
6. Pisang island on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. JA. 11. 14, p. 47.

lin in Je-nan. They say that to the south of Houang-tche lies the kingdom of Ssen-tch'eng-pou, whence the interpreter envoys of the Han return."[7]

It is seen, observes Pelliot, that Pan-Kou has joined two series of data, one going back to the period of the emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.), and the other coming from the envoys of Wang Mang in the initial years of the CRITIQUE Christian era. He also points out that in this passage, in spite of its obscurities, we are in the realm of history, not legend. Now the country which is reached after a year's voyage from the coasts of Indo-China, and from which pearls and glass were procured, must have been in the midst of the Indian ocean,[8] possibly even at its western end. Herrmann locates Houang-tche in Abyssinia and B. Laufer in Malaya; Ferrand rejects these identifications with good reason,[9] and says: "Phonetically, the equivalence Houng-tche < Kāñcī is satisfactory for the epoch of Han; historically it is possible"[10] that China had relations with Kāñcī in the second century B.C. Let us note also this. A Cōḷa embassy of the eleventh century from Coromandel to Canton took eight months to complete the journey; Pan Kou gives ten months to one year for the same voyage, nearly a dozen centuries earlier. Chinese vessels, it should be noted finally, had not yet begun to sail to India; they began to do so only much later. And the Chinese are distinctly stated by Pan Kou to have depended for their transport on foreign ships. But he makes it no less clear that from the first century B.C. the products of Southern India had begun to reach China by sea, and that at the beginning of the Christian era, under orders of the Court, a Chinese mission traversed the entire Indian ocean.[11]

7. Pelliot in *Toung Pao,* xiii (1912), pp. 457-9; cf. JA. 11.13, pp. 451-5.
8. Pelliot, *ibid.*, p. 460.
9. JA: 11: 13, p. 453 n. 2.
10. JA: 11: 14, pp. 45-6.
11. TP. xiii, p. 461.

III. STRABO

(*A*) *i—Pāṇḍyan* (?) *embassy to Augustus*

The merchants of the present day who sail from Egypt to India by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf have seldom made a voyage as far as the Ganges. They are ignorant men and unqualified for writing an account of the places they have visited. From one place in India and from one king, Pandion, but according to other writers, Poros, there came to Caesar Augustus[1] gifts and an embassy accompanied by the Indian sophist who committed himself to the flames at Athens, like Kalanos, who had exhibited a similar spectacle in the presence of Alexander.

—*Ancient India as described in classical Literature,* J. W. McCrindle, p. 9, para 4.

(*A*) *ii—Indian embassy to Augustus*

Nikolaos Damaskenos [2] says that at Antioch by Daphne he met with the Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Caesar. It appeared from the letter that their number had been more than merely the three he reports that he saw. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek on parchment and imported that Poros was the writer, and that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Caesar's friend and was willing to grant him a passage wherever he wished through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise. Such, he says, were the contents of the letter. Eight naked servants presented the gifts that were brought. They had girdles encircling their waists and were fragrant with ointments. The gifts consisted of a Hermes born wanting arms from the shoulders whom I have myself seen, large snakes and a serpent ten cubits long, and a river tortoise three cubits long, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were accompanied, it is said, by the man who burned himself at Athens. This is done by persons in misfortune seeking relief from their present circumstances, and by others in prosperity,

1. See JRAS. 1860, p. 321 for a sceptical critique of this embassy.

2. Intimate friend of Herod the Great and much esteemed by Augustus; he wrote a universal History in 144 books at the request of the former (McCrindle).

which was the case with this man. For as everything had gone well with him up to this time, he thought it necessary to depart, lest if he tarried longer in the world some unexpected calamity should befall him. He therefore with a smile leaped upon the pyre naked and anointed, and wearing a girdle round his loins. On his tomb was this inscription, 'Zarmanochegas,[3] an Indian from Bargosa,[4] having immortalised himself according to the custom of his country, lies here.'

—*Ibid.*, pp. 77-78, para 73.[5]

B. *Ceylon*

They say that Taprobanê is an island lying out in the sea, distant from the most southern parts of India which are next to the country of the Kōniakoi, a seven days' voyage to southward, and

3. Śramaṇācārya(?)
4. Bargyza, Bharoch.
5. "*Florus*, contemporary of Trajan (98-117 A.D.), also towards the close of his *Epitome of Roman History*, mentions the same embassy :—

'For both the Scythians and Sarmatians sent ambassadors begging our alliance. The Seres also and the Indians who live under the Sun, together with jewels and precious stones, bringing elephants also amongst their presents, reckoned nothing so much an obligation laid upon the Emperor, as the length of their journey, which they had finished in four years, and notwithstanding the complexion of the men showed that they came from another climate.'

Orosius, a native of Tarraco (Tarragona), (c. 420 A.D.), states in his *History* (vi. 12) that an Indian embassy reached Augustus at the time when he was residing in that city. As the date of this embassy does not tally with that noticed by Nicolaos, some have supposed that there were two different embassies, but this is highly improbable. Orosius is by no means an accurate historian.

Dion Cassius (ix. 58) (end of second century A.D.) also mentions this Indian embassy in these terms :—

'Numerous embassies came to him (Augustus at Samos, B.C. 21), and the Indians having first proclaimed a league of amity with him, obtained its ratification, and presented him, besides other gifts, with tigers also—animals seen then for the first time by the Romans, and, if I mistake not, even by the Greeks. They gave him also a stripling without arms (like the statues we see of Hermes); but as dexterous in using his feet as others their hands, for with them he could bend a bow, hurl a dart, and put a trumpet to his mouth. One of the Indians, Zarmaros, perhaps to make a show for the Athenians and Augustus who was then in Athens, resolved to put an end to his life. And having been initiated in the mysteries of the two gods (Demeter and Persephone) which were held out of the ordinary course on account of the initiation of Augustus, he committed his living body to the flames.' (McCrindle, *op. cit* pp. 78-79.)

extending about 8000 stadia in the direction of Ethiopia. It too produces elephants. Such are the accounts of Eratosthenes; and these, when supplemented by the accounts of other writers when they convey exact information, will determine the nature of our description of India.

Onesikritos,[6] for example, says with regard to Taprobanê that it has a magnitude of 5000 stadia, without distinction of length or breadth; that it is distant from the mainland a voyage of twenty days, but that the vessels employed for the voyage sail badly owing to the wretched quality of their sails, and to the peculiarity of their structure; that other islands lie between it and India, but that Taprobanê lies farthest to the south; that there are found around its shores cetaceous animals which are amphibious and in appearance like oxen, horses, and other land animals.

—*Ibid.*, pp. 20-21,—paras 14 and 15.

(C) *On Gallus' expedition to Arabia and Sailings to India*

The entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under the command of my friend and companion Aelius Gallus, and the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants whose vessels pass up the Nile and Arabian Gulf to India, have rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were. I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-Hormos[7] to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies.

—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature,* McCrindle, p. 98.

6. "Who may as well be called the master fabulist as the master pilot of Alexander"—Strabo. (McCrindle, pp. 34-5).

7. "The situation of Myos Hormos is determined by the cluster of islands now called Jifâtin (lat. 27:12' N., long. 35·55' E.). It was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphos B.C. 274"—(McCrindle).

IV. PLINY

(A) *Description of Taprobanê (Ceylon)*

Taprobanê, under the name of the 'Land of the Antichthones,' was long regarded as another world. The age and achievements of Alexander the Great made it clear that it is an island. Onesikritos, the commander of his fleet, had stated that its elephants are larger and more bellicose than those of India, and from Megasthenes we learn that it is divided by a river, and that its inhabitants are called Paleogoni, and that it is more productive of gold and pearls of a greater size than India itself. Eratosthenes has also given its dimensions as 7000 stadia in length and 5000 stadia in breadth,[1] while he states that it has no cities, but villages to the number of seven hundred. It begins at the Eastern Sea, and lies extended over against India east and west. The island in former days, when the voyage to it was made with vessels constructed of papyrus and rigged after the manner of the vessels of the Nile, was thought to be twenty days' sail from the country of the Prasii, but the distance came afterwards to be reckoned at a seven days' sail, according to the rate of speed of our ships. The sea between the island and India is full of shallows not more than six paces in depth, but in some channels so deep that no anchors can find the bottom. For this reason ships are built with prows at each end to obviate the necessity of their turning about in channels of extreme narrowness. The tonnage of these vessels is 3000 amphorae.[2] In making sea-voyages, the Taprobanê mariners make no observations of the stars, and indeed the Greater Bear is not visible to them, but they take birds out to sea with them which they let loose from time to time and follow the direction of their flight as they make for land.[3] The season for navigation is limited to four months, and they particularly shun the sea during the hundred days which succeed the summer solstice, for it is then winter in those seas.[4]

So much we have learned form the old writers. It has been our lot, however, to obtain a more accurate knowledge of the

1. As usual with classical writers, an exaggeration. 'The extreme length of the island from North to South is 271½ miles, and its greatest width 137½ miles.'—McCrindle.

2. An amphora was a fortieth of a ton—McCrindle.

3. This is mentioned in Buddhist stories also. See p. 5, n. 8.

4. The S.W. Monsoon prevails from June to October (McCrindle).

island, for in the reign of the Emperor Caludius[5] ambassadors came to his court therefrom, and under the following circumstances.

EMBASSY TO ROME

A freedman of Annius Plocamus, who had farmed from the treasury the Red Sea revenues, while sailing around Arabia was carried away by gales of wind from the north beyond Carmania. In the course of fifteen days he had been wafted to Hippuri,[6] a port of Taprobanê, where he was humanely received and hospitably entertained by the king; and having in six months' time learned the language, he was able to answer the questions he was asked. The king particularly admired the Romans and their emperor as men possessed of an unheard-of love of justice, when he found that among the money taken from the captive the denarii were all of equal weight although the different images stamped on them showed that they had been coined in the reigns of several emperors. This influenced him most of all to seek an alliance with the Romans, and he accordingly despatched to Rome four ambassadors, of whom the chief was Rachia (Rajah).

From these it was ascertained that in Taprobanê there are 500 towns, and that there is a harbour facing the south, adjacent to the city of Palaesimundus, the most famous city in the island, the king's place of residence, and inhabited by a population of 200,000.

NEW DATA

They stated also that in the interior there is a lake called Megisba 375 miles in circuit, and containing islands which are fertile, but only for pasturage.[7] From this lake, they said, there issued two rivers, one of which, called Palaesimundus, flows into the harbour near the city of the same name by three channels, the narrowest of which is five stadia wide, the largest fifteen, while the third, called Cydara, has a direction northward towards India. They further said that the nearest point in India is a promontory called Coliacum,[8] a four days' sail distant from the island, and that midway between them lies the island of the Sun; also that those seas are of a vivid green colour, and that a great number of trees grow at the bottom,[9] so that the rudders of ships frequently break their crests off. They

5. 41-54 A.D.

6. *Kudirimalai* (?); *contra* JRAS 1904 pp. 539-41 where it is suggested that Taprobanê was probably Sumatra.

7. There is no such lake in existence.

8. Cape Kory, (from Kôdi).

9. The coral reefs (?)

saw with astonishment the constellations visible to us—the Greater Bear and the Pleiades—as if they were set in a new heaven, and they declared that in their country the moon can only be seen above the horizon from her eighth to her sixteenth day,[10] while they added that Canopus, a large, bright star, illumined their nights. But what most of all excited their wonder was that their shadows fell towards our part of the world and not to their own, and that the sun rose on the left hand and set on the right, and not in the opposite direction.[11] They also informed us that the side of their island which lies opposite to India is 10,000 stadia in length, and runs south-east—that beyond the Hemodî mountains they look towards the Seres, with whom they had become acquainted by commerce;[12] also that the father of Rachia had often gone to their country, and that the Seres came to meet their visitors on their arrival. These people, they said, exceeded the ordinary stature of mankind, and had yellow hair and eyes; the tones of their voice were harsh and uncouth, and they could not communicate their thoughts by language. In other particulars their accounts of them agreed with the reports of our own merchants, who tell us that the wares which they deposit near those brought for sale by the Seres, on the further bank of a river *in their country,* are removed by them if they are satisfied with the exchange.[13] The detestation of luxury could not in any way be better justified than by our transporting our thoughts to these regions and reflecting what the things are that are sought for to gratify it, from what vast distances they are brought, and for what low ends.

SERES

But yet Taprobanê even, though isolated by nature from the rest of the world, is not exempt from our vices. Even there gold and silver are held in esteem. They have a marble which resembles tortoiseshell, pearls also and precious stones, and these are all held in high honour. Their articles of luxury surpass our own, and they have them in great abundance. They asserted that their wealth is greater than ours, but acknowledged that we excelled them in the art of deriving enjoyment from opulence.

10. A fable or a misunderstanding on the part of the Romans.
11. Again a fable.
12. Note this early reference to Chinese trade.
13. Cf. Periplus, Sec. 65 and Fā-hien, *post.* The Seres mentioned here cannot be Cēras, as has sometimes been thought, but the Chinese, and by the Hemodî mountains the Himâlayas seem to be meant. *Contra* JRAS. 1904, pp. 359-62 where Kennedy upholds the Cēra view, and 539-41. See also IHQ. XIV. 3 (Winternitz Comm. Vol. pp. 487-9).

There are no slaves in the island; the inhabitants do not prolong their slumbers till daybreak, nor sleep during the day; their buildings are only of a moderate height from the ground; the price of corn is never enhanced; they have no courts of law and no litigation. Hercules is the God they worship; their king is chosen by the people, and must be an old man, of a gentle disposition and childless, and if after his election he should beget children, he is required to abdicate, lest the throne should become hereditary; thirty counsellors are provided for him by the people, and no one can be condemned to death except by the vote of the majority—the person so condemned has, however, the right of appeal to the people, in which case a jury of seventy persons is appointed; if these should acquit the accused, the thirty counsellors lose all the respect they enjoyed, and are subjected to the uttermost disgrace. The king dresses like Father Bacchus; the people like the Arabs. The king, if he offend in aught, is condemned to death, but no one slays him—all turn their backs upon him, and will not communicate with him in any way, not even by speech. Their festive occasions are spent in hunting, their favourite game being the tiger and the elephant. The land is carefully tilled; the vine is not cultivated, but other fruits are abundant. Great delight is taken in fishing, especially in catching turtles, beneath the shells of which whole families can be housed, of such vast size are they to be found.[14] These people look upon a hundred years as but a moderate span of life. Thus much we have learned regarding Taprobanê.

POLITY

—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature,* McCrindle, pp. 102-106.

B. *Voyages to India*

In after times it was considered an undeniable fact that the voyage from Syagrus, a cape in Arabia,[15] reckoned at 1335 miles, can be performed by aid of a west wind which is there called Hippalus. The age that followed pointed out a shorter route that was also safer by making the voyage from the same cape to Sigerus,[16] a seaport of India; and for a long time this route was followed until one still shorter was discovered by a merchant, and

14. Cf. I(C) *Ante.*
15. Now Ras Fartak—McCrindle.
16. Vincent identifies this port with Jaygadh. (McCrindle).

India was brought nearer us through the love of gain. So then at the present day voyages are made to India every year; and companies of archers are carried on board because the Indian seas are infested by pirates......If the wind called Hippalus be blowing, Muziris, the nearest mart of India, can be reached in forty days. It is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood who occupy a place called Nitrias, and besides it is not well supplied with wares for traffic.[17] Ships besides anchor at a great distance from the shore, and the cargoes have to be landed and shipped by employing boats. At the time I was writing this Caelobothras was the sovereign of that country. Another more convenient harbour of the nation is Neacyndon which is called Becare. There Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the mart, in a town in the interior of the country called Modura. The district from which pepper is carried down to Becare in canoes is called Cottonara.[18] None of these names of nations, ports, and cities are to be found in any of the former writers—from which it appears that the names (stations) of the places are changed. Travellers sail back from India in the beginning of the Egyptian month Tybis—our December—or at all events before the 6th day of the Egyptian month Mechir, that is before the Ides of January. In this way they can go and return the same year. They sail from India with a south-east wind, and on entering the Red Sea catch the south-west or south.

MUZIRIS

—*Op. cit.* pp. 111-112.

17. Contra *Periplus* (54) on Muziris.

18. "According to Dr. Burnell, Cottonara is Kolattu-nadu, the district about Tellicherry, the pepper district."—McCrindle.

V. THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA

45. Now the whole country of India has very many rivers, and very great ebb and flow of the tides; increasing at the new moon, and at the full moon for three days, and falling off during the intervening days of the moon. But about Barygaza it is much greater, so that the bottom is suddenly seen, and now parts of the dry land are sea, and now it is dry where ships were sailing just before; and the rivers under the inrush of the flood tide,[1] when the whole force of the sea is directed against them, are driven upwards more strongly against their natural current, for many stadia.

BARYGAZA

46. For this reason entrance and departure of vessels is very dangerous to those who are inexperienced or who come to this market-town for the first time. For the rush of waters at the incoming tide is irresistible, and the anchors cannot hold against it; so that large ships are caught up by the force of it, turned broadside on through the speed of the current, and so driven on the shoals and wrecked; and smaller boats are overturned; and those that have been turned aside among the channels by the receding waters at the ebb, are left on their sides, and if not held on an even keel by props, the flood tide comes upon them suddenly and under the first head of the current they are filled with water. For there is so great force in the rush of the sea at the new moon, especially during the flood tide at night, that if you begin the entrance at the moment when the waters are still, on the instant there is borne to you at the mouth of the river, a noise like the cries of an army heard from afar; and very soon the sea itself comes rushing in over the shoals with a hoarse roar.

TIDES

47. The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes, such as the Arattii, the Arachosii, the Gandaraei[2] and the people of Poclais,[3] in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. Above

1. 'According to the *Imp. Gaz. of India*, IX, 297, high spring tides in the Gulf of Cambay rise and fall as much as 33 feet, and run at a velocity of 6 to 7 knots an hour. Ordinary tides reach 25 feet, at 4½ to 6 knots. The inevitable damage to shipping, under such difficulties, was the cause of the desertion of the Cambay ports for Surat, and, more recently, Bombay.'—Schoff. Cf. Ibn Battuta.

2. People of Gāndhāra, the modern Peshawar District.

3. Cf. Skt. Puṣkalāvatī, the W. Capital of Gāndhāra.

these is the very warlike nation of the Bactrians, who are under their own king. And Alexander, setting out from these parts, penetrated to the Ganges,[4] leaving aside Damirica and the southern part of India; and to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza, coming from this country, bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander.

48. Inland from this place and to the east, is the city called Ozene,[5] formerly a royal capital; from this place are brought down all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza, and many things for our trade: agate and carnelian, Indian muslins and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth. Through this same region and from the upper country is brought the spikenard that comes through Poclais; that is, the Caspapyrene[6] and Paropanisene[7] and Cabolitic[8] and that brought through the adjoining country of Scythia; also costus and bdellium.

49. There are imported into this market-town, wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian; copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright-colored girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coin,[9] on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country; and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the King there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. There are exported from these places spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate and carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper and such other things as are brought here from the various market-towns. Those bound for this market-town from Egypt make the voyage favourably about the month of July, that is Epiphi.

4. 'Our author is confusing Alexander with Menander.'—Schoff. But the author's meaning may be no more than that Alexander marched in the direction of the Ganges, neglecting the South.

5. From Pāli: Ujjēnī.

6. Kaśyapapura, (? Kashmir).

7. Hindu Kush.

8. Kabul.

9. 'The Roman *aureus* and *denarius* were current throughout W. India, and strongly influenced the Kuṣān and Kṣatrapa coinages.'—Schoff.

50. Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south; and so this region is called Dachinabades, for *dachanos* in the language of the natives means "south." The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts—leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts; and many populous nations, as far as the Ganges.

DECCAN

51. Among the market-towns of Dachinabades there are two of special importance; Paethana,[10] distant about twenty days' journey south from Barygaza; beyond which, about ten days' journey east, there is another very great city, Tagara.[11] There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethana carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast. And the whole course to the end of Damirica is seven thousand stadia; but the distance is greater to the Coast Country.

TOWNS

52. The market-towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza; Suppara,[12] and the city of Calliena,[13] which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard.[14]

53. Beyond Calliena there are other market-towns of this region; Semylla,[15] Mandagora,[16] Palaepatmae,[17] Melizigara,[18]

10. Skt. Pratiṣṭhâna, mod. Paithân.
11. Ter (?)—Fleet.
12. Sopara, north of Bombay.
13. Kalyân.
14. Satakarṇi, title of some of the Andhra kings. Schoff thinks that the 'elder Sarganus' was Ariṣṭa Satakarṇi (44-69 A.D.) and Sandares, his heir-presumptive, Sundara. But it seems possible that Sandanes (not Sandares), Candana, was the title of a Kuṣâṇ King (JA. Jan-March, 1936, pp. 75-85.)
15. Mod. Chaul, about 25 miles south of Bombay—Schoff, whom I follow in the succeeding notes also.
16. Perhaps Bankot.
17. Dâbhol.
18. Râjâpûr.

Byzantium,[19] Togarum,[20] and Aurannoboas.[21] Then there are the islands called Sesecrienae[22] and that of the Aegidii,[23] and that of the Caenitae,[24] opposite the place called Chersonesus[25] (and in these places there are pirates) and after this the White Island.[26] Then come Naura[27] and Tyndis,[28] PORTS the first markets of Damirica,[29] and then Muziris[30] and Nelcynda,[31] which are now of leading importance.

54. Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea. Muziris, of the same kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks; it is located on a river, distant from Tyndis by river and sea five hundred stadia, and up the river from the shore twenty stadia. Nelcynda is distant from Muziris by river and sea about five hundred stadia, and is of another Kingdom, the Pandian. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea.

55. There is another place at the mouth of this river, the village of Bacare;[32] to which ships drop down on the outward voyage from Nelcynda, and anchor in the roadstead to take on their cargoes; because the river is full of shoals and the channels are not clear. The kings of both these market-towns live in the interior. And as a sign to those approaching these places from the sea there are serpents coming forth to meet you, black in colour, but shorter, like snakes in the head, and with blood-red eyes.

56. They send large ships to these market-towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum. There

19. Corruption for Vizadrog.
20. Deogarh.
21. Mālvan.
22. Vengurla rocks.
23. Goa.
24. Oyster rocks, west of and facing the roadstead of Kārwār.
25. Kārwār, an active port as late as the 16th century, exporting fine muslins from Hubli and elsewhere in the interior, also pepper, cardamoms, cassia, and coarse blue *dungari* cloth.
26. Pigeon Island.
27. Cannanore.
28. Ponnāni.
29. i.e. 'country of the Tamils.'
30. Cranganore.
31. 'Certainly very near the modern Kottayam.'
32. Porakād.

are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin;[33] topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara. Besides this there are exported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds,[34] diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell; that from Chryse Island, and that taken among the islands along the coast of Damirica. They make the voyage to this place in a favourable season who set out from Egypt about the month of July, that is Epiphi.

57. This whole voyage as above described, from Cana and Eudaemon Arabia, they used to make in small vessels, sailing close around the shores of the gulfs; and Hippalus was the pilot who by observing the location of the ports and the conditions of the sea, first discovered[35] how to lay his course straight across the ocean. For at the same time when with us the Etesian winds are blowing, on the shores of India the wind sets in from the ocean, and this southwest wind is called Hippalus, from the name of him who first discovered the passage across. From that time to the present day ships start, some direct from Cana, and some from the Cape of Spices; and those bound for Damirica throw the ship's head considerably off the wind; while those bound for Barygaza and Scythia keep along shore not more than three days and for the rest of the time hold the same course straight out to sea from that region, with a favourable wind, quite away from the land, and so sail outside past the aforesaid gulfs.

HIPPALUS

58. Beyond Bacare there is the Dark Red Mountain, and another district stretching along the coast toward the south,

33. The steady loss of specie in the Indian trade caused grave difficulties in the Roman Empire.

34. 'These were principally the beryls of the Coimbatore district, for which there was a constant demand in Rome.'—Schoff.

35. Indian sailors must have known and used the monsoon much earlier than c. 45 A.D., the date of Hippalus' discovery.

COMORIN

called Paralia.[36] The first place is called Balita;[37] it has a fine harbour and a village by the shore. Beyond this there is another place called Comari, at which are the Cape of Comari and a harbour; hither come those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy; and women also do the same;[38] for it is told that a goddess once dwelt here and bathed.

KORKAI

59. From Comari toward the south this region extends to Colchi,[39] where the pearl-fisheries are; (they are worked by condemned criminals); and it belongs to the Pandian kingdom. Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the Coast Country,[40] which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru.[41] At this place, and nowhere else, are bought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic.

COLA PORTS AND SHIPS

60. Among the market-towns of these countries and harbours where the ships put in from Damirica and from the north,[42] the most important are, in order as they lie, first Camara,[43] then Poduca,[44] then Sopatma;[45] in which there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica; and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *sangara*; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called *colandia*, and are very large. There are imported into these places everything made in Damirica, and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia.

61. About the following region, the course trending toward the east, lying out at sea toward the west is the island Palaesi-

36. 'The coast-line below the Travancore backwaters, around Cape Comorin, and as far as Adam's bridge.'—Schoff.

37. Varkkalai.

38. Cf. Maṇimēkalai, xiii *ll.*5-7.

39. Koṛkai.

40. The Cōḷa kingdom.

41. Uṛaiyūr.

42. Bengal.

43. Kāvēripaṭṭṇam.

44. Pondicherry (?)

45. Maṛkāṇam, called Śō-paṭṭinam in Tamil.

mundu,[46] called by the ancients, Taprobane. The northern part is a day's journey distant, and the southern part trends gradually towards the west, and almost touches the opposite shore of Azania. It produces pearls, transparent stones, muslins, and tortoise-shell.

CEYLON

62. About these places is the region of Masalia[47] stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country; a great quantity of muslins is made there. Beyond this region, sailing toward the east and crossing the adjacent bay, there is the region of Dosarene,[48] yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic. Beyond this the course trending toward the north, there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cirrhadae,[49] a race of men with flattened noses, very savage; another tribe, the Bargysi;[50] and the Horse-faces and the Long-faces, who are said to be cannibals.

ANDHRA, ORISSA TRIBES

63. After these, the course turns toward the east again, and sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land toward the east, Chryse.

—(Pp. 40-47, ed. Schoff).

46. Lassen held that this name of Ceylon was derived from *Pālisimanta.*

47. Maisolia of Ptolemy, 'no doubt, the greatest market of the Andhra kingdom.'—Schoff.

48. Daśarṇa, Orissa.

49. Kirātas.

50. Bhargas, mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* as the neighbours of the Kirātas.

VI. AELIAN

Pearl-fishing

The Indian pearl-oyster (I have already spoken of the Erythraean kind) is caught in the following manner. There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras[1] governed at the time when Eukratides governed the Baktrians,[2] and the name of that city is Perimuda. It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who are said to go off with nets and catch the kind of oysters mentioned, in a great bay by which a vast extent of the coast is indented. It is said that the pearl grows upon a shell like that of a large mussel, and that the oysters swim in great shoals, and have leaders, just as bees in their hives have their queen-bees. I learn further that the leader is bigger and more beautifully coloured than the others, and that in consequence the divers have a keen struggle in the depths which of them shall catch him, since when he is taken they catch also the entire shoal, now left, so to speak, forlorn and leaderless, so that it stirs not, and, like a flock of sheep that has lost its shepherd, no longer moves forward against any incipient danger. As long, however, as the leader escapes and skilfully evades capture, he guides their movements and upholds discipline. Such as are caught are put into tubs to decay, and when the flesh has rotted and run off nothing is left but the round pebble. The best sort of pearl is the Indian and that of the Red Sea. It is produced also in the Western Ocean where the island of Britain is. This sort seems to be of a yellowish colour, like gold, while its lustre is dull and dusky. Juba tells us that the pearl is produced in the straits of the Bosporus and is inferior to the British, and not for a moment to be compared with the Indian and Red Sea kind. That which is obtained in the interior of India is said not to have the proper characteristics, but to be a rock crystal.

—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature,* McCrindle pp. 143-4.

1. From Śōḻa (Tam.)
2. 181-147 B.C.

VII. C. 400 A.D. MARCIAN OF HERACLEA

Sailing-course of the Left-hand side of the Arabian Gulf and Erythraean Sea and of the whole Indian Ocean.

On the left or Asiatic side the location of continent and seas is as follows. It is understood here again that it is best to state general names before local, and to give the relation of countries. So if you navigate the Arabian Gulf, and hold the continent on the left, you come first to Arabia Felix, which extends along the whole Arabian Gulf as far as the aforesaid Arabian Strait. Beyond the narrows of the Arabian Gulf follows the Erythraean Sea, and if you navigate along it and hold the continent on the left you come to the well-known people of the Arabs, who inhabit all this continent. In this part of the sea is also the people of the Homerites, settled on the land of the Arabs and holding as far as the beginning of the Indian Ocean. Then beyond the Erythraean Sea follows the Indian Ocean. Now if you navigate the left hand side of this sea, holding next to the land of the Arabs as far as the mouth of the Persian Gulf, you come to the mountain of Syagrus[1] and the great bay of Sachalites,[2] which runs as far as the mouth of the Persian Gulf. If you enter the Persian Gulf and navigate it, holding the continent on the left as far as the mouths of the river Tigris (you come to the bay of the Fish-Eaters,[3] which extends a long way, and the Laeanite bay[4] of Arabia Felix and after that, the bay of Mesanites,[5] then, beyond the river Tigris)[6] along the same Persian Gulf you come to the province of Susiana, not to omit Persis which lies next to Susiana, and after that the greater part of Carmania as far as the narrows of the Persian Gulf. Furthermore the Persian

1. Ras Fartak on the S. Coast of Arabia. It is an Arabic tribe-name: the Saukar, pl. Sawakir.

2. Early geographers erroneously thought there was a deep indentation in the Arabian coast between Ras-el-Kelb and Ras Hasik, bisected by Ras Fartak or Syagrus Cape. This strip of coast is called by the Arabs Es-Shehr. The word Sachalites is from the Arabic *sahil*, coast.

3. This may be Moseirah Channel.

4. Arabic Lihvan: Bay of Bahrein.

5. Northern shore of Persian Gulf; the name is Maisan, near the modern Basra, long an important trading port.

6. Arabic Diklath. Hebrew Hiddekel. Mention of the single stream indicates that then as now, the Euphrates and Tigris discharged through a single mouth, the Shatt-el-Arab.

Gulf is opposite to the Caspian Sea, which is also called Hyrcanian, and the two, narrowing the intervening land, make a great isthmus of Asia.

If you go forth from this gulf and navigate eastward, always holding the continent to the left, you come back to the Indian Ocean, where dwells the remainder of the people of Carmania. Beyond is the people of Gedrosia, and then India within the river Ganges; and opposite to the middle of this continent lies the great island which they call Taprobana. After this is the other India beyond the river Ganges; which is the boundary of either India. In India beyond the Ganges is the so-called Golden Chersonese; (Suvarna-bhumi); beyond which is the so-called Great Bay, in the midst of which are the borders between India beyond the Ganges and the Sinae. Then you come to the people of the Sinae, whose metropolis, which is called Thinae, is the boundary between the known and the unknown land.

This is the general statement of countries and the description of the left-hand parts of Asia and the Arabian Gulf and the Erythraean Sea, also of the Persian Gulf and the whole Indian Ocean. —(pp. 17-18).

Sailing-course of India within the river Ganges and of the Bays and islands thereof

India which is within the river Ganges is bounded on the north by the Imao mountains, along the Sogdiani and Sacae who dwell above them; on the west by the sea and by Gedrosia aforesaid, inland by Arachosia and the region of the Paropanisadae which lies above it, on the east by the river Ganges, on the South by the Indian Ocean. This is the general description; the local description is as follows:

(The local description is lacking).

The whole sailing-course of the aforesaid part of India within the Ganges from the port of Naustathmus[7] to Cape Cory[8] is 21,725 stadia.

7. (which in sec. 38 is said to be situated on the Gulf of Canthi) is probably Mandvi on the Gulf of Cutch, or Kachchh, an important commercial port in western India from early times.

8. Is Comorin, the southernmost point of India. [More likely Pt. Calimere—KAN.]

Sailing-course of the island of Taprobana

Opposite to the cape of India which is called Cory, is the cape of the island of Taprobana called Boreum.[9] The island of Taprobana was formerly called Palaesimundu, but now Salica. This cape of the island, which we said is called Boreum, opposite to Cape Cory, is distant from the eastern horizon 26,460 stadia, from the western 61,626 stadia, while on the south it is at a distance of 6,350 stadia north from the equator.

(The local description is lacking).

Beyond the promontory of Boreum the whole description and sailing-course of the island of Taprobana is as follows: the length through the diameter is 9,500 stadia, the width 7,500 stadia. It has 13 peoples or satrapies, 22 notable cities and market-towns, 2 notable mountains, 5 notable rivers, 8 notable capes, 4 notable ports, 2 great bays, 1 great coast-line. The whole sailing course of the island of Taprobana is 26,385 stadia. We have said enough about the island of Taprobana. Let us return to the sailing-course along India within the Ganges.

(The local description is lacking).

Sailing-course of the Gangetic Bay

From this Point of Departure[10] (for those bound to Chryse) begins the very great bay called Gangetic into the head of which empties the river Ganges, discharging through five mouths; which, as we have said, is the boundary between India within the Ganges and India beyond the Ganges.

(The local description is lacking).

The length of India within the river Ganges, where it extends the greatest, from the fifth mouth of the river Ganges, which is called Antibole, to the port of Naustathmus situated on the gulf of Canthi, is 18,290 stadia; and the width from the cape of the Point of Departure, so-called, to the sources of the river Ganges is 13,000 stadia. It has 54 peoples or satrapies, 216 notable cities and towns and market-towns, 6 notable mountains, 23 notable rivers, 2 notable capes, 1 notable port, 5 notable bays, 12 notable mouths of rivers, 1 notable Point of Departure, 10 confluences of notable rivers, 8 notable islands.

9. Pt. Palmyra? (KAN).
10. Probably Masulipatam.

The whole sailing course through that part of the Gangetic Bay which is between the Point of Departure and the fifth mouth of the Ganges, called Antibole, is 5,660 stadia. All the sailing courses of India within the river Ganges, from the port of Naustathmus to the fifth mouth of the river Ganges, which is called Antibole, total 35,695 stadia.[11]

—*Periplus of the Outer Sea* by Marcian of Heraclea—W. H. Schoff pp. 17-18 and 24-25.

11. The dimensions of India are vaguely stated. The "length" or longitude calculated between the deltas of the Indus and the Ganges, the length of the Ganges, the sailing course around India, and the width of the Ganges delta, are all overestimated, but the error is not great.

VIII FĀ-HIEN (401-10 A.D.)

A. *Dakṣiṇa and the Pigeon Monastery*

There is a country named Dakṣiṇa[1] where there is a monastery (dedicated to) the bygone Kaśyapa Buddha, and which has been hewn out from a large hill of rock. It consists in all of five storeys;—the lowest, having the form of an elephant, with 500 apartments in the rock; the second, having the form of a lion, with 400 apartments; the third, having the form of a horse, with 300 apartments; the fourth, having the form of an ox, with 200 apartments; and the fifth, having the form of a pigeon, with 100 apartments. At the very top there is a spring, the water of which, always in front of the apartments in the rock, goes round among the rooms, now circling, now curving, till in this way it arrives at the lowest storey, having followed the shape of the structure, and flows out there at the door. Everywhere in the apartments of the monks, the rock has been pierced so as to form windows for the admission of light, so that they are all bright, without any being left in darkness. At the four corners of the (tiers of) apartments, the rock has been hewn so as to form steps for ascending to the top (of each). The men of the present day, being of small size, and going up step by step, manage to get to the top; but in a former age they did so at one step. Because of this, the monastery is called Pārāvata, that being the Indian name for a pigeon. There are always Arhats residing in it.

The country about is (a tract of) uncultivated hillocks, without inhabitants. At a very long distance from the hill there are villages, where the people all have bad and erroneous views, and do not know the Śramaṇas of the Law of Buddha, Brāhmaṇas, or (devotees of) any of the other and different schools. The people of that country are constantly seeing men on the wing, who come and enter this monastery. On one occasion, when devotees of various countries came to perform their worship at it, the people of those villages said to them, 'Why do you not fly? The devotees whom we have seen hereabouts all fly;' and the strangers

1. Said to be the ancient name for the Deccan. As to the various marvels in the chapter, it must be borne in mind that our author, as he tells us at the end, only gives them from hearsay. See *'Buddhist Records of the Western World,'* Vol. II, pp. 214-215, where the description, however, is very different.—Legge.

answered, on the spur of the moment, 'Our wings are not yet fully formed.'

The kingdom of Dakṣiṇa is out of the way, and perilous to traverse. There are difficulties in connection with the roads; but those who know how to manage such difficulties and wish to proceed should bring with them money and various articles, and give them to the king. He will then send men to escort them. These will (at different stages) pass them over to others, who will show them the shortest routes. Fa-hien, however, was after all unable to go there; but having received the (above) accounts from men of the country, he has narrated them..

—Legge—*Fā-hien,* pp. 96-8 (cf. Giles—*Fa-hsien,* pp. 62-3; Beal *Buddhist Records* pp. lxviii-lxx.)

B. *Tāmaliptī and Ceylon*

Following the course of the Ganges, and descending eastwards for eighteen yojanas, he found on the southern bank the great kingdom of Campā,[2] with topes reared at the places where Buddha walked in meditation by his vihāra, and where he and the three Buddhas, his predecessors sat. There were monks residing at them all. Continuing his journey east for nearly fifty yojanas, he came to the country of Tāmaliptī,[3] (the capital of which is) a sea-port. In the country there are twenty-two[4] monasteries, at all of which there are monks residing. The Law of Buddha is also flourishing in it. Here Fā-hien stayed two years, writing out his Sūtras, and drawing pictures of images.

After this he embarked in a large merchant-vessel, and went floating over the sea to the south-west. It was the beginning of winter, and the wind was favourable; and, after fourteen days, sailing day and night, they came to the country of Singhala.[5] The

2. Probably the modern Champanagar, three miles west of Baglipoor, lat. 25° 14'N., lon. 56° 55'E.—Legge.

3. Then the principal emporium for the trade with Ceylon and China; the modern Tam-look, lat. 22° 17'N., lon. 88° 2'E.; near the mouth of the Hoogly.—Legge.

4. Twenty-four.—Beal.

5. 'The Kingdom of the Lion,' Ceylon. Singhala was the name of a merchant adventurer from India, to whom the founding of the kingdom was ascribed. His father was named Singha, 'the Lion,' which became the name of the country;—Singhala or Singha-Kingdom, 'the country of the Lion.'—Legge.

people said that it was distant (from Tāmaliptī) about 700 *yojanas.*

—Legge—*Fā-hien,* p, 100 (cf. Giles, *Fa-hsien,* pp. 65-66; Beal, *Buddhist Records* lxxi-lxxii).

C. *Ceylon*

The kingdom is on a large island, extending from east to west fifty yojanas, and from north to south thirty. Left and right from it there are as many as 100 small islands, distant from one another, ten, twenty, or even 200 *li;* but all subject to the large island. Most of them produce pearls and precious stones of various kinds; there is one which produces the pure and brilliant pearl,[6] an island which would form a square of about ten *li.* The king employs men to watch and protect it, and requires three out of every ten such pearls, which the collectors find. The country originally had no human inhabitants,[7] but was occupied only by spirits and nāgas, with which merchants of various countries carried on a trade. When the trafficking was taking place, the spirits did not show themselves. They simply set forth their precious commodities, with labels of the price attached to them; while the merchants made their purchases according to the price; and took the things away.[8]

Through the coming and going of the merchants (in this way), when they went away, the people of (their) various countries heard how pleasant the land was, and flocked to it in numbers till it became a great nation. The (climate) is temperate and attractive, without any difference of summer and winter. The vegetation is always luxuriant. Cultivation proceeds whenever men think fit; there are no fixed seasons for it.

When Buddha came to this country,[9] wishing to transform the wicked nāgas, by his supernatural power he planted one foot at the

6. Called the *maṇi,* pearl or bead. *Maṇi* is explained as meaning 'free from stain,' 'bright and growing purer.' It is a symbol of Buddha and of his Law. The most valuable rosaries are made of *maṇis.*—Legge.

7. According to other accounts Singhala was originally occupied by Rākṣasas or Rakṣas, 'demons who devour men,' and 'beings to be feared,' monstrous cannibals or anthropophagi, the terror of the shipwrecked mariner. Our author's 'spirits' were of a gentler type. His dragons or nāgas come before us again and again.—Legge.

8. cf. Pliny, *ante* re. Seres.

9. That Śākyamuni ever visited Ceylon is to me more than doubtful. Hardy, in M.B. pp. 207-213, has brought together the legends of three

north of the royal city, and the other on the top of a mountain,[10] the two being fifteen *yojanas* apart. Over the foot-print at the north of the city the king built a large tope, 400 cubits high,[11] grandly adorned with gold and silver, and finished with a combination of all the precious substances. By the side of the tope he further built a monastery, called the Abhayagiri,[12] where there are (now) five thousand monks. There is in it a hall of Buddha, adorned with carved and inlaid work of gold and silver, and rich in the seven precious substances, in which there is an image (of Buddha) in green jade, more than twenty cubits[13] in height, glittering all over with those substances and having an appearance of solemn dignity which words cannot express. In the palm of the right hand there is a priceless pearl. Several years had now elapsed since Fā-hien left the land of Han; the men with whom he had been in intercourse had all been of regions strange to him; his eyes had not rested on an old and familiar hill or river, plant or tree; his fellow travellers, moreover, had been separated from him, some by death, and others flowing off in different directions; no face or shadow was now with him but his own, and a constant sadness was in his heart. Suddenly (one day), when by the side of this image of jade, he saw a merchant presenting as his offering a fan of white silk;[14] and the tears of sorrow involuntarily filled his eyes and fell down.

ABHAYAGIRI VIHARA

visits—in the first, fifth, and eighth years of his Buddhaship. It is plain, however, from Fā-hien's narrative, that in the beginning of our fifth century, Buddhism prevailed throughout the island. Davids in the last chapter of his 'Buddhism' ascribes its introduction to one of Asoka's missions, after the Council of Patna, under his son Mahinda, when Tissa, 'the delight of the gods,' was King (B.C. 250-230).—Legge.

10. This would be what is known as 'Adam's peak,' having, according to Hardy (pp. 211, 212, notes), the three names of Selesumano, Samastakūṭa, and Samanila. 'There is an indentation on the top of it,' a superficial hollow, 5 feet 3¾ inches long and about 2½ feet wide. The Hindus regard it as the footprint of Śiva; the Mohammedans, as that of Adam; and Buddhists, as in the text,—as having been made by Buddha.—Legge.

11. 470 feet.—Beal.

12. Meaning 'The Fearless Hill.' There is still the Abhayagiri tope, the highest in Ceylon, according to Davis, 250 feet in height, and built about B.C. 90, by Waṭṭa Gāmiṇi, in whose reign, about 160 years after the Council of Patna, and 330 years after the death of Śākyamuni, the Tripiṭaka was first reduced to writing in Ceylon—'Buddhism,' p. 234.—Legge.

13. About 22 feet.—Beal.

14. We naturally suppose that the merchant-offerer was a Chinese, as indeed the Chinese texts say, and the fan such as Fā-hien had seen and used in his native land.—Legge.

A former king of the country had sent to Central India and got a slip of the patra tree,[15] which he planted by the side of the hall of Buddha, where a tree grew up to the height of about 200 cubits.[16] As it bent on one side towards the south-east, the king, fearing it would fall, propped it with a post eight or nine spans round.[17] The tree began to grow at the very heart of the prop, where it met (the trunk);[18] (a shoot) pierced through the post, and went down to the ground, where it entered and formed roots, that rose (to the surface) and were about four spans round. Although the post was split in the middle, the outer portions kept hold (of the shoot), and people did not remove them. Beneath the tree there has been built a *vihāra,* in which there is an image (of Buddha) seated, which the monks and commonalty reverence and look up to without ever becoming wearied. In the city there has been reared also the *vihāra* of Buddha's tooth, on which, as well as on the other, the seven precious substances have been employed.

SACRED TREE

The king practises the Brahmanical purifications, and the sincerity of the faith and reverence of the population inside the city are also great. Since the establishment of government in the kingdom there has been no famine or scarcity, no revolution or disorder. In the treasuries of the monkish communities there are many

TREASURE

15 This should be the pippala, or bodhidruma, generally spoken of, in connection with Buddha, as the Bo tree, under which he attained to the Buddhaship. It is strange our author should have confounded them as he seems to do. In what we are told of the tree here, we have, no doubt, his account of the planting, growth, and preservation of the famous Bo tree, which still exists in Ceylon. It has been stated in a previous note that Asoka's son, Mahinda, went as the apostle of Buddhism to Ceylon. By-and-by he sent for his sister Sanghamittā, who had entered the order at the same time as himself, and whose help was needed, some of the king's female relations having signified their wish to become nuns. On leaving India, she took with her a branch of the sacred Bo tree at Buddha Gaya, under which Śākyamuni had become Buddha. Of how the tree has grown and still lives we have an account in Davids' 'Buddhism.' He quotes the words of Sir Emerson Tennent, that it is 'the oldest historical tree in the world;' but this must be denied if it be true, as Eitel says, that the tree at Buddha Gaya, from which the slip that grew to be this tree was taken more than 2,000 years ago, is itself still living in its place. We might conclude that Fā-hien, when in Ceylon, heard neither of Mahinda nor Sanghamittā.—Legge.

16. 220 feet.—Beal.

17. Placed eight or nine surrounding props to support the tree.—Beal.

18. 'Where the tree and prop met, the tree shot out.'—Giles.

precious stones, and the priceless *maṇis*. One of the kings (once) entered one of those treasuries, and when he looked all round and saw the priceless pearls, his covetous greed was excited, and he wished to take them to himself by force. In three days, however, he came to himself, and immediately went and bowed his head to the ground in the midst of the monks, to show his repentance of the evil thought. As a sequel to this, he informed the monks (of what had been in his mind), and desired them to make a regulation that from that day forth the king should not be allowed to enter the treasury and see (what it contained), and that no bhikṣu should enter it till after he had been in orders for a period of full forty years.

PREACHING

In the city there are many Vaiśya elders and *So-po*,[19] whose houses are stately and beautiful. The lanes and passages are kept in good order. At the heads of the four principal streets there have been built preaching halls, where, on the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the month, they spread carpets, and set forth a pulpit, while the monks and the commonalty from all quarters come together to hear the Law. The people say that in the kingdom there may be altogether sixty thousand monks, who get their food from their common stores. The king, besides, prepares elsewhere in the city a common supply of food for five or six thousand more. When any want, they take their great bowls, and go (to the place of distribution), and take as much as the vessels will hold, all returning with them full.

FEEDING OF MONKS

TOOTH RELIC FESTIVAL

The tooth of Buddha is always brought forth in the middle of the third month. Ten days beforehand the king grandly caparisons a large elephant, on which he mounts a man who can speak distinctly, and is dressed in royal robes, to beat a large drum, and make the following proclamation:

'The Bodhisattva, during three Asaṅkhyeyakalpas,[20] manifested his activity, and did not spare his own life. He gave up kingdom, city, wife, and son; he plucked out his eyes and gave them

19. The phrase 'Sabaean merchants' suggested to Legge by Beal's rendering of *So-po* is wrong; *So-po*, according to Pelliot, stands for *Sārthavāha*, a merchant-prince.—BEFEO, iv, p. 356, *n.* 1.

20. A Kalpa denotes a great period of time; a period during which a physical universe is formed and destroyed. Asaṅkhyeya denotes the highest

to another; he cut off a piece of his flesh to ransom the life of a dove; he cut off his head and gave it as an alms; he gave his body to feed a starving tigress; he grudged not his marrow and brains. In many such ways as these did he undergo pain for the sake of all living. And so it was, that, having become Buddha, he continued in the world for forty-five years, preaching his Law, teaching and transforming, so that those who had no rest found rest, and the unconverted were converted. When his connection with the living was completed, he attained to pari-nirvāṇa (and died). Since that event, for 1497 years, the light of the world has gone out,[21] and all living beings have had long-continued sadness. Behold! ten days after this, Buddha's tooth will be brought forth, and taken to the Abhayagirivihāra. Let all and each, whether monks or laics, who wish to amass merit for themselves, make the roads smooth and in good condition, grandly adorn the lanes and by-ways, and provide abundant store of flowers and incense to be used as offerings to it.'

When this proclamation is over, the king exhibits, so as to line both sides of the road, the five hundred different bodily forms in which the Bodhisattva had in the course of his history appeared;—here as Sudāna,[22] there as Sāma;[23] now as the king of elephants; and then as a stag or a horse.[24] All these figures are brightly coloured and grandly executed, looking as if they were alive. After this the tooth of Buddha is brought forth, and is carried along in the middle of the road. Everywhere on the way offerings are presented to it, and thus it arrives at the hall of Buddha in the

sum for which a conventional term exists:—according to Chinese calculations equal to one followed by seventeen ciphers; according to Thibetan and Singhalese, equal to one followed by ninety-seven ciphers. Every Mahākalpa consists of four Asaṅkhyeya-kalpas. Eitel, p. 15.—Legge.

21. Compare *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI, *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 89, 121, and note on p. 89.—Legge.

22. Sudāna or Sudatta was the name of the Bodhisattva in the birth which preceded his appearance as Śākyamuni or Gotama, when he became the Supreme Buddha. This period is known as Vessantara Jātaka of which Hardy, M.B. pp. 116-24, gives a long account; see also *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 158.—Legge.

23. The *Sudāna Jātaka*, the same as *Vessantara Jātaka;* both this and the *Sāma Jātaka* are among the Sāñcī sculptures.—Beal. For the stories see *Jātakas* Nos. 547 and 540 respectively in the *Jātaka*, ed. Cowell, Vol. VI.

24. In an analysis of the number of times and the different forms in which Śākyamuni had appeared in his Jātaka births, given by Hardy (M.B., p. 100), it is said that he had appeared six times as an elephant; ten times as a deer; and four times as a horse.—Legge.

Abhayagiri-vihāra. There monks and laics are collected in crowds. They burn incense, light lamps, and perform all the prescribed services, day and night without ceasing, till ninety days have been completed, when (the tooth) is returned to the vihāra within the city. On fast-days the door of that vihāra is opened, and the forms of ceremonial reverence are observed according to the rules.

Forty *li* to the east of the Abhayagiri-vihāra there is a hill, with a *vihāra* on it, called the Chaitya,[25] where there may be 2,000 monks. Among them there is a Śramaṇa of great virtue, named Dharmagupta,[26] honoured and looked up to by all the kingdom. He has lived for more than forty years in an apartment of stone, constantly showing such gentleness of heart, that he has brought snakes and rats to stop together in the same room, without doing one another any harm.

Cremation of an Arhat

South of the city seven *li* there is a *vihāra,* called the Mahāvihāra, where 3,000 monks reside. There had been among them a Śramaṇa of such lofty virtue, and so holy and pure in his observance of the disciplinary rules, that the people all surmised that he was an Arhat. When he drew near his end, the king came to examine into the point; and having assembled the monks according to rule, asked whether the bhikṣu had attained to the full degree of Wisdom. They answered in the affirmative, saying that he was an Arhat. The king accordingly, when he died, buried him after the fashion of an Arhat, as the regular rules prescribed. Four or five *li* east from the *vihāra* there was reared a great pile of fire-wood, which might be more than thirty cubits square,[27] and the same in height. Near the top were laid sandal, aloe, and other kinds of fragrant wood.

On the four sides (of the pile) they made steps by which to ascend it. With clean white hair-cloth, almost like silk, they

25. Chaitya is a general term designating all places and objects of religious worship which have a reference to ancient Buddhas, and including therefore Stupas and temples as well as sacred relics, pictures, statues, &c. It is defined as 'a fane,' 'a place for worship and presenting offerings.' Eitel, p. 141. The hill referred to is the sacred hill of Mihintale, about eight miles due east of the Bo tree:—Davids' *Buddhism*, pp. 230, 231.—Legge.

26. Eitel says (p. 31): 'A famous ascetic, the founder of a school, which flourished in Ceylon, A.D. 400.' But Fā-hien gives no intimation of Dharmagupta's founding a school.—Legge. Beal transcribes the name as Dharmakōṭi also alternatively.

27. 34 feet.—Beal.

on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered, and it was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed. On the sea (hereabouts) there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death. The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west; only by observing the sun, moon and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather were dark and rainy, (the ship) went as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen, breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep (all about). The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop. But when the sky became clear, they could tell east and west, and (the ship) again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape.

After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days, they arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa, where various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of. After staying there for five months, (Fâ-hien) again embarked in another large merchantman, which also had on board more than 200 men. They carried provisions for fifty days, and commenced the voyage on the sixteenth day of the fourth month.

Legge—*Fâ-hien* pp. 111-113 (Cf. Giles: *Fâ-hsien* pp. 76-78; Beal *Buddhist Records*. lxxix-lxxxi).

IX. GUṆAVARMAN : 367-431 A.D.

Life translated from *Kao Seng tchouan* of Houei-Kiao, composed in A.D. 519, the most complete of the Chinese biographies of this monk.

Summary: Guṇavarman was a kṣatriya of the royal line of Kashmir. He was remarkably intelligent, and of a thoughtful disposition. He renounced the world at twenty, and became a master of the āgamas, and earned the name 'Master of the Law of Tripiṭaka'. When he was thirty the king of Kashmir died without an heir, and the ministers pressed Guṇavarman to rule the kingdom, but he declined. He retired to the forest and carefully hid himself away from others.

He then went to Ceylon, developed his religious practices, and then went over to Cho-po (Java ?). There the king's mother had a dream regarding him on the night preceding the day of Guṇavarman's arrival; the queen-mother respectfully received him and the king became a Buddhist after his mother and the religion spread. Guṇavarman then wrought many miracles. What follows is a translation of the Chinese text from Chavannes' rendering.

INVITED TO CHINA

"Then, the famous monks of the capital,[1] the śramaṇas Houei-kouan, Houei-ts'ong and others, heard of the good work (of Guṇavarman) and thought of telling their sovereign about it; in the ninth month of the first year *Yuan-kia* (424), they spoke out their ideas in an interview with the emperor *Wen*, and proposed that they would go and ask Guṇavarman to come (to China). The emperor then issued a decree requiring the prefect of Kiao tcheou (Hanoi) to take steps for the transport by boat of (Houei-)Kouan and his colleagues; he sent at the same time the śramaṇas Fa-tchang, Tao-Tcho'ng, Tao-tsiun and others that they might go down there and request (Guṇavarman to come); they carried also (imperial) letters to Guṇavarman and the king of Cho-po (Java ?), Po-to-kia,[2] expressing a lively desire to see Guṇavarman come to the Song territory and spread the religious teaching there. Guṇavarman, considering it important to spread the holy doctrine, had no fear of travel, and before the imperial envoys came, he had already embarked on the boat of a merchant, the Hindu Nandi,

1. The Song capital was Nanking.
2. What this stands for is unknown—cf. Krom, H.J.G. p. 83

with the intention of going to a small kingdom; but he found a favourable wind, and arrived at Kouang-tcheou (Canton). This explains the following passage in his posthumous writing: 'When I was already *en route*, I was carried by the wind, and I arrived in the Song territory'. The emperor Wen, learning that Guṇavarman had reached (the province of) Nan-hai, issued a new decree requiring the prefects and governors to see that Guṇavarman was supplied with provisions and sent to the capital.

AT CHE-HING

"The route passed Che-hing;[3] Guṇavarman spent over a year there. At Che-hing is the mountain Hou-che, a solitary eminence of which the peaks are scarped and abrupt; Guṇavarman said that it resembled the Gṛdhrakūṭa, and they changed its name and called it the Peak of the Vulture; outside the temple on this mountain, there was a hall of *dhyāna* in a separate spot; this hall was many *li* distant from the temple, and no noise was heard there; yet, when the Ghaṇṭā began to resound Guṇavarman was already there; if he came in the rain, he was not wet; if he walked in the mire, he was not soiled. There was then no one, cleric or layman, that did not feel an increasing and respectful admiration for him.

"In the temple was the hall *Pao-yue* (ratnacandra). On the northern wall of this hall, Guṇavarman painted with his own hand the image of *Lo-yun* (Rāhula) and the scene of Dīpaṅkara and the young student spreading his hair.[4] When the figures were completed, as the evening came on, they gave out a lustre which ceased only after a long time.

"The prefect of Che-hing, T'sai Mao-tche evinced the greatest admiration for Guṇavarman; later, when he was at the point of death, Guṇavarman came in person to see him, and comforted him by preaching the law. Subsequently, a relation (of T'sai Mao-tche) saw him in a dream with a multitude of the clergy expounding the law in a temple; that surely was an effect produced by the force of the conversion made by Guṇavarman.

"This mountain was once infested by a large number of tigers; from the time Guṇavarman settled there, he went by day and returned by night, and if now and then he met a tiger, he touched his head with his baton, stroked him and then went away; then the travellers who went by the mountains and on the rivers found no

3. Now Chao-tcheou in the province of Kouang-tong—(Chavannes).
4. See JA. Sep.-Oct. 1903, pp. 199-209 and fig. 11 (Chavannes).

obstacle to their going and coming. Among them seven or eight out of ten were touched by this kindness and became converted.

"Once Guṇavarman was engaged in a meditation in a separate hall from which he did not come out for many successive days. The clerics of the temple sent a śramaṇera to observe him; he saw a white lion standing erect alongside of a column; everywhere in the chamber bloomed the flowers of the blue lotus. The śramaṇera was frightened and raised a loud cry and entered (the hall) to chase the lion; but then there was only a void, and nothing more to be seen. Many were the miracles of this unparalleled nature that Guṇavarman wrought.

MIRACLES

"Meanwhile the emperor Wen reiterated to (Houei-)Kouan and his colleagues, the order to request Guṇavarman once more to come at once. Then Guṇavarman proceeded by boat to the capital and reached Kien-ye (Nanking) in the first month of the eighth year *Yuan-kia* (431). The emperor Wen went out to receive him and made solicitous enquiries of him. He (Emperor) profited by the occasion and put him this question: 'I, your disciple, have a constant desire to observe the prohibitions and to abstain from killing; but as I have necessarily to subordinate my sentiments to those of others, I am unable to give effect to my intentions. O, Master of the Law, since you have not found 10,000 *li* too great a distance to traverse for converting this kingdom, what will be your instruction to me?' Guṇavarman answered: 'Wisdom is in the heart, not in acts; religion originates in yourself and not from others. Besides, kings and ordinary men have entirely different codes of conduct; for the ordinary man, his person is of little value and his reputation is inconsiderable; his commands are not feared; if he does not conquer himself and lead a life of asceticism, what is he good for? As for the sovereign, the country bounded by the four seas is his house; the thousands of the people, his children; when he speaks a good word, all men and women rejoice; when he conducts an excellent government, men and gods are reconciled thereby; punishments no longer shorten lives; forced labour no more exhausts the strength (of the people); it causes the wind and rain to come in proper time, winter and summer to correspond to their proper periods, all sorts of cereals to increase in abundance, the mulberry and the hemp to flourish. To observe abstinence in this manner, is an abstinence which is also lofty; to shun killing likewise, is a benevolence which is also manifold. How could it be possible by curtailing the nourishment

AT NANKING

of half a day or by saving the life of some one animal for one to find that he has accomplished this noble and salutary work ?" The emperor then softly struck the table and said with a sigh: 'The laity go wrong in ultimate principles; the clergy embarrass themselves in the doctrine of what is near at hand. Those who go astray on ultimate principles hold empty discourses on absolute wisdom; those that embarrass themselves in a doctrine of what is near at hand allow themselves to be fettered by the written rules. But regarding the language you employ, Master of the Law, we can well say that it is that of an open and intelligent man; it is worth while for all to talk with you about what concerns heaven and earth'. Then he ordered that Guṇavarman should reside in the temple *Tche-houan* (Jetavana vihāra), and he provided liberally for his maintenance; the dukes, kings and all persons of distinction paid their respects to him.

"Then Guṇavarman began to expound in this temple the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* and the *Daśabhūmi sūtra.* On days when he started to preach, sedan chairs and canopies

PREACHER

of officials blocked the road; the spectators who went there and came back in succession rubbed shoulders with one another and walked close on one another's heels. Guṇavarman had marvellous natural resources; his admirable dialectic was divinely eminent; sometimes he had recourse to an interpreter, and, by a series of dialectical discussions, obscure points became clear.

"Afterwards, Houei-yi, (monk) of the temple *Tche-houan* asked him to publish (the book called) *P'ou-sa*

WRITER

chan kie; (Guṇavarman) began by issuing twenty-eight sections of it; later, one of his disciples published for him two sections, thus making a total of thirty sections. But before the work was recopied, the sections comprising the Prefaces and the Prohibitions were lost; that is why there are still two different texts (of the work).[5] This work was also called *P'ou-sa kie ti.*

"Earlier, in the third year *Yuan-Kia* (426), the prefect of Sin tchou, Wang Tchong-to, while he was at *Pong-tcheng,* had requested the foreigner I-che-po-lo (Īśvara) to translate the work called *Tsa-sin*;[6] but when the section on Choice was reached, (Īśvara) had

5. It is now found in the Japanese Tripiṭaka—(Chavannes).

6. The *Samyukta abhidharma hṛdaya śāstra*; this Chinese translation is now lost (Chavannes).

to stop the work on account of some difficulty. Now Guṇavarman was requested again to translate and publish the last sections (of this work) which formed thirteen chapters. We get a total of twenty-six chapters if we add the earlier publications, viz., the Sseu fen kie-mo, yeou-p'o-sai won kie lio louen, the yeou-p'o-sai eul che eul kie. In all these translations, the style and the sense were perfect and exact; there was not the least difference between the Sanskrit and the Chinese.

NUNS

"Meanwhile, the nuns of the temple *Ying-fou* viz., Houei-kuo, Tsing-yin and others,[7] addressed to Guṇavarman a request in these terms: 'It is six years since eight nuns from Ceylon came to the Capital. There have been no nuns before in the territory of the Song. Where shall we find (the rules for) the second assembly[8] receiving the prohibitions? We fear that the section on prohibitions is not complete.' Guṇavarman answered them: 'The system of prohibitions was promulgated at first with the assembly of the great monks in view; supposing that a case other than that of the original type presents itself, nothing prevents the reception of the prohibitions, being due to love of religion.' The nuns were still afraid that they were not of the prescribed age, and desired at once to receive (the prohibitions) afresh. Guṇavarman told them: 'Very well! if truly you desire to increase the lustre (of religious life), that will aid the company greatly to enjoy itself (puṇyānumodana). Only the nuns of the western land are also not of the prescribed age; besides, the number of ten persons has not been reached.'[9] He then induced them to study the language of the Song (Chinese), and, on the other hand, with a notable from the Western countries as intermediary, he requested that more nuns from the foreign land should come to make up the number ten.[10]

7. The story that follows is very obscure; in my opinion, Houei-Kouo, Tsing-yin and the others are precisely the eight nuns from Ceylon referred to below. (Chavannes) Later, Chavannes and Lévi thought that Chinese women, seeing these nuns from Ceylon, demanded admission into the order, and the message to Ceylon was necessitated by this request. JA: 11: 8 (1916), pp. 45-6. Cf. also Pelliot BEFEO. iv. p. 275 *n.* 1, and p. 356 *n.* 4.

8. Of the nuns, the first being that of the monks.

9. There were only eight. It was perhaps necessary to have ten for forming a regular community.

10. Guṇavarman died before this affair was fully regulated; when the nuns from Ceylon whom he had sent for arrived at the Capital, it was the

"During that year, in summer, Guṇavarman passed the season of retreat in the lower temple of *Ting-lin.* There were then devoted people who gathered flowers for spreading them on the mats; only the colours of the flowers placed in the spot where Guṇavarman was seated increased in freshness; all the people adored him as a saint. When summer came to an end, he returned to the temple *Tche-houan* (Jetavana vihāra). The same year, on the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month, before the mid-day meal was finished, he got up first and went back to his chamber. His disciple went a little later, but he had already died suddenly. He was then sixty-five.

(Ed. Chavannes—Toung Pao II, 5. (1904), pp. 193-206).
Cf. Pelliot, BEFEO. iv. pp. 274-5.

Hindu Sanghavarman who was charged with the task of ordaining the nuns. (The biography of Sanghavarman follows that of Guṇavarman in the *Kao Seng tchouan*).—Chavannes.

X. A SOUTH INDIAN EMBASSY TO CHINA C. 510 A.D.

"In the time of Seuen-woo, of the dynasty of the later Wei (A.D. 500-516), South India sent an ambassador to offer as presents some horses of a fine breed. This ambassador stated that the kingdom produced lions, leopards, panthers, camels, rhinoceroses and elephants; that there was a species of pearl there, called *ho-tse*, similar to talc (*yun-moo*), the colour of which was yellowish red (*tse*, reddish blue); if it is divided, it disperses like the wings of the cricket, if it is heaped up, on the other hand, it becomes compact, like threads of silk strongly woven. There were diamonds resembling amethysts (*tse-shih-ying*). When purified a hundred times in the fire, without melting, this diamond is used to cut Jasper (*yu* stone). There were also tortoise-shell (*tae-mei*), gold (*kin*), copper (*tung*), iron (*tee*), lead (*yuen*), tin (*seih*), fine muslins embroidered with gold and silver; there were also a variety of odoriferous plants, *yuh-kin*, sugar-canes, and all kinds of products; honey-bread (or solid honey), pepper, ginger and black-salt."

—"*Chinese account of India.* Translated from the Wan-heen-t'hung-kaou, or Deep Researches into Ancient Monuments;" by Ma Twan-lin; book 338 fol. 14. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* vi. p. 66; cf. JRAS., vi. p. 458; IA ix, p. 18.

XI. A MIRROR FROM WESTERN INDIA

Liang se kung tse ki, 'Memoirs of the Four Lords of the Liang Dynasty (502-556)' written by Chang Yue (667-730), statesman, poet, painter. "The story connected in this report with the crystal mirror is a somewhat abrupt and incomplete version of the well-known legend of the Diamond Valley, the oldest hitherto accessible Western version of which is contained in the writings of Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (*circa* 315-403)" (Laufer).

"A large junk of Fu-nan which had hailed from western India arrived (in China) and offered for sale a mirror of a peculiar variety of rock-crystal,[1] one foot and four inches across its surface, and forty catties in weight. It was pure white and transparent on the surface and in the interior, and displayed many-coloured things on its obverse. When held against the light and examined, its substance was not discernible.[2] On inquiry for the price, it was given at a million strings of copper coins. The Emperor ordered the officials to raise this sum, but the treasury did not hold enough. Those traders said, 'This mirror is due to the action of the Devarāja of the Rūpadhātu. On felicitous and joyful occasions, he causes the trees of the gods to pour down a shower of precious stones, and the mountains receive them. The mountains conceal and seize the stones, so that they are difficult to obtain. The flesh of big beasts is cast into the mountains; and

1. Pauthier who first called attention to this text explained *p'o-li* rightly as 'rock-crystal.' Pelliot (BEFEO, iii, p. 283) adopts the usual meaning 'glass' though he allows its connection with *Sphaṭika* (Skt.). It cannot be glass, for (1) the story of the Diamond valley makes it a matter of precious stones, as also the high price; (2) real glass mirrors were not yet invented in the West and could not have been known in India and Fu-nan in the sixth century. They did not come up in Europe before the latter half of the 13th century. In later times *p'o-li* did mean glass.—Laufer (abridged).

2. Hirth's translation of this sentence is based on an incomplete text and renders it unintelligible. "As they were not acquainted with the complete text, as handed down in *Tai ping yü lan*, Hirth and Rockhill understand that the junks of Fu-nan habitually sell such mirrors to the Chinese. Our story renders it clear that only an isolated instance comes into question, and that this particular, unusual mirror could not even be disposed of in China. The *Liang se kung tse ki* is not a work on commercial geography summarising general data, but is a story-book narrating specific events. We have in the present case not a description, but a narrative."—Laufer.

when the flesh in these hiding places becomes so putrified that it phosphoresces, it resembles a precious stone. Birds carry it off in their beaks, and this is the jewel from which this mirror is made'. Nobody in the empire understood this and dared to pay that price ".[3]

—Chinese text, cited and translated by Berthold Laufer: *Optical Lenses,* Toung Pao, Vol. xvi (1915), pp. 200-02—(cf. Ferrand, JA: 11: 13, pp. 461-2).

3. The narrative is obscure in failing to state that the jewels adhere to the flesh which is devoured by the birds.—Laufer.

XII. COSMAS

(A) *A description of Indian Animals*

i. The Rhinoceros

This animal is called the rhinoceros from having horns upon its snout. When it is wandering about, the horns are mobile, but when it sees anything which excites its rage, it stiffens them, and they become so rigid that they are strong enough to tear up even trees by the roots—those especially which come in the way of the front horn. The eyes are fixed low down about the jaws. It is altogether an animal much to be dreaded, and in this respect so far a contrast to the elephant. Its feet and its hide, however, closely resemble those of that animal. The hide when dried is four fingers thick, and this is sometimes used instead of iron in ploughs for tilling the land. The Ethiopians in their language call the rhinoceros *Arou,* or *Harisi,* prefixing the rough breathing to the *alpha* of the latter word, and adding *risi* to it in order that by the *arou* they may designate the animal and by the *arisi,* 'ploughing,' giving it this name from its shape about the nostrils, as well as from the use to which its hide is applied. I have seen in Ethiopia, when I was standing at a distance off, a living rhinoceros and I have seen also the hide of a dead one stuffed with chaff, and set up in the royal palace, and of this the picture I have drawn is an exact copy.[1]

ii. The Taurelaphos, the Bull-stag or Ox-deer

The taurelaphos is an animal found in India and in Ethiopia. But the Indian ones are tame, and gentle and the people use them for transporting pepper and other stuffs packed in saddle-bags. They supply the natives with milk and butter. Moreover we eat their flesh, the Christians killing them by cutting their throats, and the Pagans by knocking them on the head. The Ethiopian ox-deer, unlike the Indian, are wild and untamable.

—McCrindle : *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* pp. 156-7, (cf. *The Christian Topography of Cosmas,* ed. J. W. McCrindle, Hakluyt Society, (1897), pp. 358-9).

1. In the Codex the pictures of the animals and plants precede the description of them.—McCrindle.

iii. The Agriobous or Wild Ox

This is an animal[2] of great size and belongs to India, and from it is got what is called the *toupha*[3] wherewith commanders decorate their horses and their banners when taking the field. It is said of this animal that if its tail be caught by a tree, it no longer stoops but stands erect, from its reluctance to lose even a single hair. The natives thereupon come up and cut off its tail, and then it scuttles away completely docked of this appendage. Such is the nature of this animal.

—*Ancient Ind.*, pp. 157-8.

iv. The Moschus or Musk-deer

The small animal,[4] again, is the Moschus, called in the native tongue *Kastouri*. Those who hunt it pierce it with arrows and having tied up the blood collected at the navel[5] they cut it away. For this is the part which has the pleasant fragrance known to us by the name of musk. The men then cast away the rest of the carcase.

—*The Christian Topography*, p. 360.

(B) Indian Flora: i. Piperi-pepper

This is a picture of the tree which produces pepper, each separate stem being very limp and slender twines itself, like the pliant tendrils of the vine, around some tall tree that does not itself bear fruit. Each of the clusters is enveloped within a couple of leaves. It is of a deep green colour like that of rue.

ii. Argellia—The Narikela of Sanskrit—Cocoa-nuts

The other tree (represented) is that which bears what are called *argellia*, that is, the large Indian nuts. It differs in no way from the date palm, except in being of greater height and thickness, and in having larger branches. It bears not more than two or three flower-spathes, each having as many nuts. Their taste is quite sweet and pleasant, like that of green nuts. The nut is at first full of a delicious liquid which the Indians therefore drink instead

2. Evidently the *yák*.—McCrindle.
3. The *chowries* or fly-flappers used in India on occasions of state and parade.—McCrindle.
4. Little more than three feet in length.—McCrindle.
5. The cyst of the male, which is about the size of hen's egg, contains a clotted, oily, friable matter, dark brown in colour, and this is the true musk.—McCrindle.

[library stamp]

of wine.[6] This very sweet beverage is called *rhongkhosura.* If the fruit is gathered at maturity, then so long as it keeps fresh, the liquid in contact with shell hardens upon it progressively, while the liquid in the centre retains its fluidity until it entirely fails. If, however, it be kept too long the fruit becomes rancid and unfit for human food.

—*Ancient India*, p. 159; (cf. *Christian Top.* p. 362).

(C) *Concerning the Island of Taprobanê—Ceylon*

This is a large oceanic island lying in the Indian sea. Among the Indians it goes by the name of Sielediba, but the Pagans call it Taprobanê, wherein is found the stone hyacinth. It lies farther away than the pepper country. Around it there is a great number of small islands,[7] all of them having fresh water and cocoanut trees. They nearly all have deep water close up to them. The great island, as the natives allege, has a length of three hundred *gaudia*[8] and a breadth of as many—that is of nine hundred miles. There are two kings in the island who are at feud with each other. The one possesses the hyacinth, and the other the rest of the island wherein are the port and the emporium of trade. The emporium is one much resorted to by the people in those parts.[9] The island has also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual.[10] The natives and their kings are, however, heathens in religion. In this island they have many temples, and in one situated on an eminence is a single hyacinth as big as a large pine-cone, the colour of fire and flashing from a distance, especially when the sunbeams play around it—a matchless sight.[11] As its position is central, the island is a great resort of ships from

6. "Possibly," says Yule, "Cosmas has confounded the cocoanut milk with the coco-palm toddy. For *sura* is the name applied on the Malabar coast to the latter. *Roncho* may represent *lanha,* the name applied there to the nut when ripe, but still soft." Yule's *lanha* seems to stand for *Iḷaṅṅa,* Mal. for tender cocoanut.

7. The Laccadives.

8. From *gau,* the distance a man can walk in an hour.

9. The emporium, according to Gibbon, was Trincomale, but Tennent takes it to be Point de Galle.—McCrindle.

10. This was a branch of the Nestorian Church.—McCrindle.

11. Yüang Chwang and Marco Polo mention this stone. "Tennent thinks that this stone was not a ruby but an amethyst, a gem found in large crystals in Ceylon which, according to mineralogists, is the hyacinth of the ancients." —McCrindle.

all parts of India, and from Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner it despatches many of its own to foreign ports. And from the inner countries,[12] I mean China and other marts in that direction, it receives silks, aloes, clovewood, sandalwood, and their other products, and these it again passes on to the outer ports, I mean to Malê,[13] where pepper grows, and to Kalliana[14] where copper is produced and sesame wood and materials for dress; for it is also a great mart of trade; and to Sindu also, where musk or castor is got, as well as Androstachus, (?) and to Persia and the Homerite country, and to Adule.[15] Receiving in return the traffic of these marts, and transmitting it to the inner ports, the island exports to each of these at the same time her own products. Sindu is the frontier country of India for the river Indus, that is, the Phisôn, which empties itself into the Persian Gulf, separates Persia from India. The following are the most famous commercial marts in India: Sindus, Orrhotha,[16] Kalliana, Sibor,[17] Malê which has five marts that export pepper: Parti, Mangarouth[18] Salopatana, Nalopatana, Poudopatana.[19] Then out in the ocean, at the distance of five days and nights from the mainland, lies Selediba, that is Taprobanê. Then, again, farther away and on the mainland is the mart Marallo, which exports chank shells, then comes Kaber[20] which exports alabandênum, then next is the clove country, then China, which produces silk, beyond which there is no other land, for the ocean encircles it on the east.

MARITIME TRADE

Sielediba being thus in a central position with reference to the Indies, and possessing the hyacinth, receives wares from all trading marts and again distributes them over the world, and thus becomes a great emporium. Now once upon a time one of our countrymen engaged in commerce and called Sopater who to our knowledge died five and thirty years ago, came on business to the island of Taprobanê, where also, it so happened, a ship from Persia

12. The countries inside of Cape Comorin, that is, to the east of it.—McCrindle.

13. The coast of Malabar.—McCrindle.

14. Kalyan, near Bombay. cf. Periplus sect. 52.

15. Mod. Thulla or Zula on the E. African coast.

16. Incorrect for Sorath, Surâṣṭra, Gujarat.

17. Chaul (?)

18. Mangalore.

19. These three *patanas* must have been situated between Mangalore and Calicut.

20. Kaveripatnam.

came to moorings. So the men from Adulê, among whom was Sopater, disembarked, as did likewise the men from Persia, among whom there was one of advanced age. Then in accordance with the custom of the place, the magistrates and the custom-house officials received them and brought them to the king. The king, having admitted them to his presence and received their obeisances, requested them to be seated. Then he asked them: How fares it with the countries you come from, and how are things moving there? To this they replied: Things are going on all very well. Afterwards, when in the course of conversation, the king inquired: Which of your respective kings is the greater and the more powerful? the Persian, who was in haste to speak first, replied: Our king is both more powerful and is greater and richer, and is King of Kings, and he can do whatever he pleases. Sopater, on the other hand, remained silent. So the king asked: Have you, Roman,[21] nothing to say? What have I to say, he rejoined, when he there has said these things? If you wish to ascertain the truth, you have both the kings here. Examine each and you will see which of them is the more illustrious and the more powerful. On hearing this the king was surprised at what he said, and asked: How, have I both the kings here? The other then replied: You have the money of both—the current coin of the one and the drachma of the other, that is, the miliarision.[22] Examine the image of each, and you will see the truth. The king thanked the man, and assenting to his proposal, ordered both coins to be produced. Then the Roman coin had a good ring, and was bright and finely shaped, for choice pieces of this nature are exported thither. But the miliarision, was silver and, to say in a word all that need be said, was not to be compared with the gold piece. The king having closely examined each of the coins both on the obverse and reverse side, bestowed all manner of praise on the Roman coin and said: Truly the Romans are splendid men and powerful, and possessed of great good sense. He therefore commanded Sopater to be greatly honoured, and having mounted him on his elephant, he conducted

PERSIAN AND ROMAN

21. In the text Rumi, 'a term applied in India to all the powers who have been successively in possession of Constantinople, whether Roman, Christian or Mahommedan'—So Vincent.—McCrindle.

22. It was a silver drachma, twenty of which made a Daric. Gold and silver *denarii*, as we learn from the *Periplus*, were among the imports of Barygaza (Bharoch). The silver denarius was nearly equal in value to the drachma.—McCrindle.

him round the whole city with drums beating and many marks of honour. All this was told us by Sopater himself as well as by his companions, who had gone with him to that island from Adulê.[23] This occurrence, they assured me, overwhelmed the Persian with shame.

GOLLAS

Between the famous marts already mentioned, there are many others, both on the coast and in the interior, and the country has a vast area. The regions higher up, that is, farther north than India, are occupied by the White Huns, whose king, called Gollas,[24] when going to war is said to take with him no fewer than two thousand elephants and much cavalry. Within his empire is included India, from which he extracts tribute. Once on a time, this king, as the story goes, wished to sack an Indian city in the interior—one that was surrounded by water and was thus protected from assault. He encamped all around it for a considerable time, until all the water had been drunk up by his elephants, his horses, and his soldiery. Having then crossed over to the city on dry land, he was able to capture it. This people highly prize the emerald stone and wear it when set in a crown. For the Ethiopians, who traffic with the Blemmyes[25] in Ethiopia, carry this same stone into India, and with the price they obtain make purchases of the most beautiful articles. All these particulars I have related and described partly from what fell under my observation, and partly as I learned them after most careful inquiry when I was in the neighbourhood of the places I have mentioned.

ELEPHANTS, HORSES

The kings of various parts of India possess elephants, as for instance the kings of Orrotha, and Kalliana, and Sindu and Sibor and Malê. They have each six hundred, it may be, or five hundred more or less. But the king of Sielediba obtains by purchase both the elephants and horses which he possesses. The price he pays for the elephants depends upon the number of cubits they reach in height. For the height is measured from the ground in cubits, and the price is reckoned at so many pieces of money for each cubit, say fifty or a hundred pieces, or even more. His horses again are imported from Persia, and the traders from whom he buys

23. This seems to be a traditional story, for we learn from Pliny that ambassadors who had been sent from Ceylon to the Emperor Claudius regarded with profound respect the Roman denarii.—McCrindle.

24. Mihiragula, see Smith—*Early History of India*,[4] p. 336.

25. Fierce predatory nomads of the Nubian wilds.—McCrindle.

them he exempts from the payment of custom house dues. But the kings of the mainland catch their elephants as they roam about at large, and having tamed them, employ them in war. They often set elephants to fight against each other in the presence of the king. They separate the two combatants by means of a large cross-beam of wood fastened to other two beams standing upright and reaching up to their breasts. A number of men are stationed on this and that side to prevent them meeting in close fight, but they instigate them to attack each other, and then the beasts becoming enraged use their trunks to belabour each other with blows till one or other of them gives in. The tusks of the Indian elephants are not large, but should they be so the Indians shorten them with a saw so that the weight may not encumber them when in action. The Ethiopians again have not the art of taming elephants, but when the king happens to wish to have one or two for show, they catch young ones and put them under training. Now they are quite plentiful in Ethiopia, and their tusks being large are exported by sea from that country into India and Persia and the Homerite country and the Roman dominion. These facts I have recorded on the testimony of others.

ELEPHANT FIGHTS

The river Phisôn (Indus) divides India from the country of the Huns. In Scripture the Indian country is called Euilat (Havilah), 'where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good.'

—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature,* McCrindle, pp. 160-6 (cf. *The Christian Topography of Cosmas,* pp. 363-373; and Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*[2] i. pp. 222-231).

XIII. C. 550-600 A.D. (MA TWAN LIN)

Ma Twan Lin, a mediaeval Chinese historian, brought together in a Cyclopaedia all the ancient authorities known to him, and the extract given below may well be taken to apply to South India about the second half of the sixth century or earlier from its position in the work of Ma.

On the condition of South India

On the west, India carries on a considerable commerce by sea with Ta-tsin (the eastern Roman empire), the An-se (or Asae, Syrians); some of the Indians come as far as Foo-nan and Keaou-che (Tonquin), to traffic in coral necklaces and pearls of inferior quality (or which only resemble pearls—*san-kan*). These merchants are accustomed to dispense with books of accounts (in their commercial transactions). Teeth (elephants' or rhinoceros' ?) and shells form their articles of exchange. They have men very skilful in magical arts. The greatest mark of respect which a wife can show towards her husband is to kiss his feet and embrace his knees: this is the most energetic and persuasive demonstration of the interior sentiments. In their houses, they have young girls who dance and sing with much skill. Their king and his ministers (*ta-chin*, ministers about the sovereign) have a vast number of silk dresses and fine woollen fabrics. He dresses his hair on the top of his head (like the Chinese women), and the rest of the hair he cuts, to make it short. Married men also cut their hair, and pierce their ears, to hang valuable rings in them. The general practice is to walk on foot. The colour of their dress is mostly white. The Indians are timid in battle; their weapons are the bow and arrows, and shield; they have also (like the Chinese) flying or winged ladders;[1] and according as the ground will permit, they follow the rules of the *wooden oxen* and *rolling horses*.[2] They have a written character and a literature and they are well versed in astronomy or the science of the heavens, in that of numbers, and in astrology. All the men study the instructive books denominated *Seihthan*,[3] written on the leaves of the tree *pei-to* intended to preserve a record of things.

—JASB. vi. pp. 66-7. (JRAS vi. pp. 457-9 and IA. ix pp. 14 ff).

1. Scaling ladders.
2. Machines of war of which we can form no idea now.
3. Siddhânta. This and the reference to writing on (palm) leaves seem to indicate S. India as the subject of this description.

XIV. YUAN CHWANG—KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

Wu-t'u (*Oṭa*)

From Karṇasuvarṇa he travelled south-west above 700 *li* and came to the *Wu* (*U*)—*t'u* country.[1] This, he states, was above 7000 *li* in circuit, and its capital above twenty *li* in circuit, the soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands, and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated; the climate was hot; the people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion, in speech and manners different from the people of "Mid India;" they were indefatigable students and many of them were Buddhists. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and a myriad Brethren all Mahāyānists. Of Deva Temples there were 50, and the various sects lived pell-mell. There were more than ten Asoka topes at places where the Buddha had preached. In the south-west of the country was the *Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li* (restored by Julien as "Pushpagiri") monastery in a mountain; the stone tope of this monastery exhibited supernatural lights and other mircales, sun-shades placed by worshippers on it between the dome and the āmalaka remained there like needles held by a magnet. To the north-east of this tope in a hill monastery was another tope like the preceding in its marvels. The miraculous power of these topes was due to the topes having been erected by supernatural beings.[2] Near the shore of the ocean in the south-east of this country was the city Che-li-ta-lo (Charitra ?),[3] above twenty *li* in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together, of lofty structure and with very artistic images. Far away, 20,000 *li* distant in the south was the *Sêng-ka-lo* (Ceylon) Country, and from this place on calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's Tooth-relic in that country.

1. Modern Orissa. The capital of ancient Oḍra has been identified variously with Jajpur (Hunter) and Midnapore (Fergusson).

2. 'Cunningham supposes the two hills named in the text to be Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in which many Buddhist caves and inscriptions have been discovered.'—Beal.

3. Fergusson identified this with Tamluk.

Kung-yü (*Gu* or *Ya*) *T'o*

From the Oṭa country a journey south-west, through a forest, for over 1200 *li*, brought the pilgrim to the *Kung-yü* (or *gu* or-*ya*)-*t'o country*.[4] This country was above 1000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above twenty *li* in circuit. It was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea, with regular harvests, a hot climate. The people were tall and valorous and of a black complexion, having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful. Their written language was the same as that of India, but their ways of speaking were different, and they were not Buddhists. Deva Temples were above 100 in number, and of Tīrthikas there were more than 10000. The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy. As the country was on the sea side it contained many rare precious commodities; the currency was couries and pearls; and the country produced large dark-coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys.

Ka-leng-ka (Kalinga)

From *Kung-yü-t'o* the pilgrim travelled through jungle and forest dense with huge trees, south-west for 1400 or 1500 *li*, to Kalinga. This country he describes as above 5000 *li* in circuit, its capital[5] being above twenty *li*. There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruit and flowers grew profusely, and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of *li*. The country produced dark wild elephants prized by the neighbouring countries. The climate was hot. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from "Mid-India." There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 Brethren, "Students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school system." There were more than 100 Deva Temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very

4. Cunningham and Fergusson agree in identifying this with the country round the Chilka lake,—apparently a part of Harṣa's empire at the time of Yüan Chwang's visit.

5. Rajahmundry according to Cunningham. But Fergusson held it to be not far from Kalingapatam.

numerous, the majority being nirgranthas.[6] This country had once been very densely inhabited; a holy ṛṣi possessing supernatural powers had his hermitage in it; he was once offended by a native and cursed the country; as a consequence of this curse the land became, and remained, utterly depopulated. In the lapse of many years since that event it had gradually become inhabited again, but it still had only a scanty population. Near the south wall of the city (i.e. the capital apparently) was an Asoka tope beside which were a sitting-place and exercise-ground of the Four Past Buddhas. On a ridge of a mountain in the north of the country was a stone tope, above 100 feet high, where a Pratyeka Buddha had passed away at the beginning of the present kalpa when men's lives extended over countless years.

The Southern Kosala

From Kalinga he went north-west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kosala.[7] This country, more than 6000 *li* in circuit, was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, its capital being above 40 *li* in circuit. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the towns and villages were close together; the people were prosperous, tall of stature and black in colour; the king was a kṣatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries and about 10000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists. Near the South of the city (that is apparently, the capital) was an old monastery with an Asoka tope where Buddha had vanquished Tīrthikas by the exhibition of supernormal powers, and in which Nāgārjuna P'usa had afterwards lodged. Contemporary with this P'usa was the king styled *Sha-to-p'o-ha* or "Leading-right" (*yin-cheng*),[8] who treated Nāgārjuna with ceremonious respect, and kept a guard at his residence.

Deva P'usa from Senkgala came on a visit to this monastery in order to have a discussion with Nāgārjuna.[9] When Deva arrived

6. i.e. Digambara Jains.

7. Most probably Chattisgarh; the site of the capital being near about Wyraghur, the Vayirāgaram of the Cōḷa inscriptions. See Fergusson in JRAS, NS. vi. p. 260.

8. This is, no doubt, the dynastic name Sātavāhana, the Chinese translation being due to some mistake.

9. This account of the encounter between Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva is of great interest, especially after the excavation of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. On the problems arising out of Yüan Chwang's text the reader must consult, besides the commentary of Watters, Vogel's notes to the inscriptions in EI. xx. See also JOR. ix, pp. 95-99 for an account of an inscribed earthern pot possibly containing the remains of Āryadeva.

and requested to be admitted, the disciple in charge of the door reported the circumstance. Nāgārjuna, who had heard of the vistor's fame, merely filled his bowl with water and gave it to the disciple to show to Deva. This last silently dropped a needle into the bowl, and dismissed the disciple. On learning this Nāgārjuna exclaimed—"He is a wise man! It is for the gods to know the hidden springs, and it is the sage who searches out their minute developments; as the man has such excellence call him in at once." "What do you mean," asked the disciple,—"is this a case of 'Silence being eloquence?'". Nāgārjuna explained that the bowl full of water typified his own universal knowledge, and the dropping of the needle into it typified Deva's thorough comprehension of all that knowledge. When Deva was admitted he was modest and timid, and he expressed his views clearly and distinctly, wishing to be instructed. Nāgārjuna said to him—"You as a scholar are above your contemporaries, and your excellent discourse sheds glory on your predecessors. I am old and feeble, and meeting one of such superior abilities as you I have a pitcher into which to draw water, and a successor to whom the continuous lamp may be handed over. You can be relied on for propagating the religion. Please come forward, and let us talk of the mysteries of Buddhism." Deva was proceeding to enter on an exposition when a look at the majestic face of Nāgārjuna made him forget his words and remain silent. Then he declared himself a disciple, and Nāgārjuna having reassured him taught him the true Buddhism. Nāgārjuna had the secret of long life, and had attained an age of several centuries, with his mental faculties still flourishing, when he voluntarily put an end to his life in the following circumstances. The king *Yin-chêng* was also some hundreds of years old, and his life depended on that of Nāgārjuna by whom it had been prolonged. This king's youngest son became impatient to succeed, and learning from his mother the secret of his father's life, at her instigation he went to the great P'usa, and persuaded him that it was his duty to die on behalf of the young prince. Nāgārjuna, accordingly, cut his own head off with a dry blade of grass, and his death was immediately followed by that of the old king.

NAGARJUNA AND ARYADEVA

To the south-west of this country above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*,[10] which rose lofty and

10. This name which seems to represent Bhramara-giri is not easily explained. Beal's suggestion that it comes from Bhramarī, a name of Durgā, is not easy to accept; and Watters argues that Po-lo-yue of Fā-hien, usually rendered Pārāvata (pigeon), may represent *parvata* which he might have

compact like a single rock. Here king *Yin-cheng* had quarried for Nāgārjuna a monastery in the mountain, and had cut in the rock a path, communicating with the monastery, for above ten *li*. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls; these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life-size images of the Buddha of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water, and the chambers were lighted by windows cut in the rock. In the formation of this establishment the king's treasury soon became exhausted, and Nāgārjuna then provided an abundant supply by transmuting the rocks into gold.[11] In the topmost hall Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Śākyamuni Buddha and the writings of the P'usas. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores, and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the Brethren. When the king had finished the construction of this monastery an estimate of the maintenance of the workmen came to nine *koṭi* of gold coins. In later times the Brethren had disagreed, and had referred their quarrels to the king; then the retainers of the monastery, fearing that the establishment would become a prey to the lawless, excluded the Brethren, and made new barriers to keep them out; since then there have not been any Brethren in the monastery, and the way of access to it was not known.

SRI PARVATA MONASTERY

An-to-lo (Andhra)

From Kosala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 *li* to the *An-to-lo* country. This country was above 3000 *li* in circuit, and its capital *P'ing-ch'i* (or *k'i*)-*lo*[12] was above twenty *li* in circuit. The country had a rich fertile soil with a moist hot climate; the people were of a violent character; their mode of speech differed from that of "Mid-India" but they followed the same system of writing. There were twenty odd Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 Brethren. Near the capital was a large monastery with a succession of high halls and storeyed terraces wrought with perfect art, and containing an exquisite image of the

heard wrong, but not Pārvatī. But there seems to be no doubt that both Fā-hien and Yüan Chwang describe one and the same Buddhist monastery, that this must have been the Śrī Parvata monastery famous in Nāgārjuna legends as the place where he spent his last days, and now found mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription F.—Beal, ii p. 214 *n.* 80; Watters ii, 207-8; Vogel, EI. xx.pp.9 and 22. Fā-hien *ante* VIII (A).

11. Several works on Alchemy still pass under Nāgārjuna's name.

12. Does this stand for Vēṅgī? See JRAS.NS. vi. p. 261.

Buddha. In front of the monastery was a stone tope some hundreds of feet high, tope and monastery being the work of the arhat *A-che-lo* (Ācāra, translated by So-hsing, "Performance" or "Rule of Conduct"). Near the south-west of this monastery was an Asoka tope where the Buddha preached, displayed miracles, and received into his religion a countless multitude. Above twenty *li* further south-west was an isolated hill on the ridge of which was a stone tope where *Ch'ên-na*[13] P'usa composed a "yinming-lun" or treatise on Logic (or the Science of Inference). Ch'ên-na after the Buddha had departed from this life came under his influence, and entered the Order. The aspirations of his spiritual knowledge were vast and his intellectual strength was deep and sure. Pitying the helpless state of his age he thought to give expansion to Buddhism. As the śāstra on the science of Inference was deep and terse, and students wrought at it in vain, unable to acquire a knowledge of its teachings, he went apart to live in calm seclusion to examine the qualities of the writings on it, and investigate their characteristics of style and meaning. Hereupon a mountain-god took the P'usa up in the air, and proclaimed that the sense of the *Yin-ming-lun,* originally uttered by the Buddha had been lost, and that it would that day be set forth at large again by *Ch'ên-na.* This latter then sent abroad a great light which illuminated the darkness. The sight of this light led to the king's request that Ch'ên-na should proceed at once to the attainment of arhatship. When the P'usa reluctantly agreed to do so, Mañjuśrī appeared, and recalled him to his high designs and aspirations for the salvation of others, and also summoned him to develop for the benefit of posterity the "*Yu-ka-shih-ti-lun*" (Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra), originally delivered by Maitreya. On this Ch'ên-na renounced the idea of an arhat's career, and devoted himself to a thorough study and development of the treatise on the science of Inference. When he had finished his work on this subject, he proceeded to the propagation of the rich teaching of the Yoga system, and had disciples who were men of note among their contemporaries.

DINNAGA

T'ê-Na-Che-ka (Dhanakataka?)[14]

From Andhra the pilgrim continued his journey south, through wood and jungle, for over 1000 *li* and reached the *T'ê-na-ka-che-ka* country. This was above 6000 *li* in circuit, and its capital was

13. i.e. Dinna, Dinnāga. See Watters, ii.212-14.

14. Vogel (EI. xx. p. 9) accepts this identification.

above 40 *li* in circuit.[15] The country had a rich soil and yielded abundant crops; there was much waste land and the inhabited towns were few; the climate was warm, and the people were of black complexion, of violent disposition, and fond of the arts. There was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries but most of them were deserted, about twenty being in use, with 1000 Brethern mostly adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika system. There were above 100 Deva-Temples and the followers of the various sects were very numerous.

MONASTERIES

At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called *Fu-p'o-shih-lo* (*Pūrvaśilā*) or "East Mountain," and at a hill to the west of the city was the *A-fa-lo-shih-lo* (Avaraśilā) or "West Mountain" monastery. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former King of the country, who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rocks had formed high halls with long broad corridors continuous with the steep sides of the hills. The local deities guarded the monasteries,which had been frequented by saints and sages. During the millennium immediately following the Buddha's decease a thousand ordinary Brethren came here every year to spend the Retreat of the rainy season. On the day of leaving Retreat these all became arhats, and by their supernormal powers went away through the air. Afterwards common monks and arhats sojourned here together, but for more than 100 years there had not been any Brethren resident in the establishment, and visitors were deterred by the forms of wild animals which the mountain-gods assumed.

Not far from the south side of the capital was a mountain-cliff in the Asura's Palace in which the Śāstra-Master P'o-p'i-fei-ka[16] waits to see Maitreya when he comes to be Buddha. Then we have the story of this renowned dialectician, who "externally displaying the Sāṅkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuna." Hearing that *Hu-fa* (Dharmapāla) P'usa was preaching Buddhism in Magadha with some thousands of disciples, the Śāstra-Master longing for a discussion, set off, staff in hand, to see him. On arriving at Pāṭaliputra he learned that Hu-fa was at the Bodhi-Tree and thither he sent as messenger a disciple with the following message for the P'usa: "I have long yearned to come under the influence of you as a preacher of Buddhism, and a guide to the erring, but have failed to pay my respects to you

15. Bezwada according to Sewell, following Fergusson. Cunningham suggested Dharaṇikot or Amarāvatī.

16. Bhāviveka—(Watters, ii. 221-2), not Bhāvaviveka as Beal, following Julien, has it.

through the non-fulfilment of a former prayer. I have vowed not to see the Bodhi-Tree in vain. If I visit it I must become Buddha". Fa-hu sent back a reply that human life was illusory and fleeting, and that he was too much occupied to have a discussion. Messengers and messages went to and fro, but there was no interview. Then the Śāstra-Master went back to his home in this country, and after calm reflection concluded that his doubts could be solved only by an interview with Maitreya as Buddha. He thereupon abstained from food, only drinking water, and for three years repeated before an image of Kuan-tzū-tsai P'usa the "*Sui-hsin* Dhāraṇī." After all this that P'usa appeared in his beautiful form, and on hearing the devotee's desire to remain in this world to see Maitreya, he advised him rather to cultivate a higher goodness which would lead to rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven and so accelerate an interview with Maitreya. But the Śāstra-Master had made up his mind, and was not to be moved from his resolve. So Kuan-tzu-tsai P'usa directed him to go to this country, to the shrine of the god Vajrapāṇi, in the cliff to the south of the capital, and on reciting the "Vajrapāṇi Dhāraṇi" there he would obtain his desire. The Śāstra-Master acted on the advice, and after three years' repetition of the dhāraṇi, the god appeared, gave a secret prescription, and told the devotee to make due petition at the Asura's Palace in the cliff; the rock would then open and he was to enter, on the coming of Maitreya the god would let him know. After three more years' constancy, the Śāstra-Master with a charmed mustard-seed struck the cliff which thereupon opened. There were at the place many myriads of people who had continued gazing, forgetful of their homes. When the Śāstra-Master passed quietly in, he urged the crowd to follow, but only six ventured after him; the others held back through fear, but they lamented their mistake.

Chu-li-ya (Chulya ?)

From Dhanakaṭaka the pilgrim went south-west above 1000 *li* to *Chu-li-ya.*[17] This country was about 2,400 *li* in circuit, and its capital was above ten *li* in circuit. It was a wild jungle region with very few settled inhabitants, and bands of highwaymen went about openly; it had a moist hot climate; the people were of a fierce and profligate character and were believers in the Tīrthikas; the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins, and only some of them had

17. Cunningham located this in the Kurnool District. But Fergusson suggested Nellore. In any case clearly the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom is meant.

Brethren; there were several tens of Deva Temples, and the Digambaras were numerous. To the south-east of the capital, and near it, was an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached, wrought miracles, overcome Tirthikas, and received men and devas into his communion. Near the west side of the city was an old monastery where Deva P'usa had discussed with the arhat Uttara. And this is the story of the discussion.[18] Deva had heard of this arhat with supernormal powers and attainments, so he made a long journey to see him and observe his style of teaching. Uttara, being a man content with little, had only one couch in his room, so he made a heap of fallen leaves on which he bade his guest recline. When the arhat was ready Deva stated his difficulties, and the arhat gave his solutions, then Deva replied and put further questions and so on for seven rounds; the arhat unable to reply transported himself secretly to the Tuṣita Paradise and obtained the necessary explanations from Maitreya who told him that he should be very respectful to Deva who was to be a Buddha in the present kalpa; when Uttara imparted his information to Deva the latter recognised it as the teaching of Maitreya; hereupon Uttara gave up his mat to Deva with polite apologies, and treated him with profound respect.

Dravida

From Chulya he travelled 1,500 or 1,600 *li* through wood and jungle south to the *Ta-lo-p'i-t'u* country. This was above 6,000 *li* in circuit and its capital *Kan-chih-pu-lo* was above thirty *li* in circuit.[19] The region had a rich fertile soil, it abounded in fruits and flowers and yielded precious substances. The people were courageous, thoroughly trustworthy, and public-spirited, and they esteemed great learning; in their written and spoken language they differed from "Mid-India." There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with above 10,000 Brethren all of the Sthavira school. The Deva-Temples were above 80, and the majority belonged to the Digambaras. This country had been frequently visited by the Buddha, and king Asoka had erected topes at the various spots where the Buddha had preached and

18. 'This story of Deva P'usa and Uttara is one of our pilgrim's silly legends about the great apostles of Buddhism in India, and we need not examine it closely.......... Our pilgrim evidently understood the arhat to be a Hīnayānist Buddhist who was no match in discussion for the Mahāyānist P'usa who had god-given powers of persuasion.'—Watters.

19. This is doubtless Kāñcipuram. Elsewhere it is described as the sea-port of South India for Ceylon; this is possibly due to a confusion with Negapatam. See Watters, ii. p. 227.

admitted members into his Order. The capital was the birthplace of Dharmapāla P'usa[20] who was the eldest son of a high official of the city. He was a boy of good natural parts which received great development as he grew up. When he came of age a daughter of the king was assigned to him as wife, but on the night before the ceremony of marriage was to be performed, being greatly distressed in mind, he prayed earnestly before an image of Buddha. In answer to his prayer a god bore him away to a mountain monastery some hundreds of *li* from the capital. When the Brethren of the monastery heard his story they complied with his request, and gave him ordination, and the king on ascertaining what had become of him treated him with increased reverence and distinction. Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country. It had an Asoka tope above 100 feet high where the Buddha had once defeated Tīrthikas by preaching, and had received many into his communion. Near it were traces of a 'sitting-place and exercise-walk' of the Four Past Buddhas.

DHARMAPALA

Mo-lo-kü-t'a (Malakūṭa)

From Kāñcī city he went south above 3000 *li* to the *Mo-lo-ku-t'a* (Malakūṭa) country.[21] This country he describes as being above 5,000 *li* in circuit with a capital above forty *li* in circuit. The soil was brackish and barren; the country was a depot for sea-pearls; the climate was very hot and the people were black; they were harsh and impetuous, of mixed religions, indifferent to culture and only good at trade. There were many remains of old monasteries, very few monasteries were in preservation and there was only a small number of Brethren. There were hundreds of Deva-Temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects, especially the Digambaras, were very numerous. Not far from the east side of the capital were the remains of the old monastery built by Asoka's brother, or Ta-ti or Mahendra, with the foundations and dome, the latter alone visible, of a ruined tope on the east side of the remains. The tope had been built by Asoka to perpetuate the memory of Buddha having preached, made miraculous exhibitions, and brought a countless multitude into his communion at the place. The long lapse of time had served to increase the effica-

20. A devoted student of Buddhism and author of repute who wrote treatises on Etymology, Logic and the Metaphysics of Buddhism. (Watters, ii.p.228).

21. This is the contemporary Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. See *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 173-9.

cious powers of the tope and prayers offered at it were still answered.

In the south of the country near the sea was the *Mo-lo-ya* (Malaya) mountain, with lofty cliffs and ridges and deep valleys and gullies, on which were sandal, camphor and other trees.[22] To the east of this was the *Pu-ta-lo-ka* (Potalaka) mountain with steep narrow paths over its cliffs and gorges in irregular confusion; on the top was a lake of clear water, whence issued a river which, on its way to the sea, flowed twenty times round the mountain. By the side of the lake was a stone Deva-palace frequented by Kuan-tzu-tsai P'usa. Devotees risking life, brave water and mountain to see the P'usa, but only a few succeed in reaching the shrine. To the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the P'usa, he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika, or as a Maheśvara, and consoles the suppliant with this answer. To the north-east of Potalaka on the seaside was a city, the way to Sêng-ka-lo (Ceylon) of the south sea, and local accounts made the voyage from it to Ceylon one of about 3000 *li* to the south-east.

[Yüan Chwang's account of Ceylon and other islands is full of legend and gossip of no value for our purposes, and may hence be passed over. We return to his account at the point where he resumes his description of the countries visited by him.]

Kung-kan-na-pu-lo

From the Dravida country he went north[23] into a jungle infested by troops of murderous highwaymen, passing an isolated

22. Beal's version gives more details of the Malaya mountain and is worth citing here:

"Here is found the white sandal-wood tree and the *Chan-t'an-ni-p'o* (*Chandaneva*) tree. These two are much alike, and the latter can only be distinguished by going in the height of summer to the top of some hill, and then looking at a distance great serpents may be seen entwining it; thus it is known. Its wood is naturally cold, and therefore serpents twine round it. After having noted the tree, they shoot an arrow into it to mark it. In the winter, after the snakes have gone, the tree is cut down. The tree from which *Kie-pu-lo* (karpūra) scent is procured, is in trunk like the pine, but different leaves and flowers and fruit. When the tree is first cut down and sappy, it has no smell; but when the wood gets dry, it forms into veins and splits; then in the middle is the scent, in appearance like mica, of the colour of frozen-snow. This is what is called (in Chinese) long-nao-hiang, the dragon-brain scent."

23. The direction given in the *Life* is North-West.

city and a small town, and after a journey of above 2000 *li* he reached the *Kung-kin* (or *kan*)*-na-pu-lo* country. This country was above 5000 *li* and its capital above thirty *li* in circuit.[24] It had more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and above 10000 Brethren who were students of both "Vehicles." Close to the capital was a large monastery with above 300 Brethren all men of great distinction. In the temple of this monastery was a tiara of Prince Sarvārthasiddha (that is, the prince who afterwards became Gautama Buddha) which was nearly two feet high adorned with gems and enclosed in a case; on festival days it was exhibited and worshipped, and it could emit a bright light. In the temple of another monastery near the capital was a sandalwood image of Maitreya made by the arhat Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi. To the north of the capital was a wood of tāla trees above thirty *li* in circuit,[25] and within the wood was a tope where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise, and near this was the tope over the relics of Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi. Near the capital on the east side was a tope which had associations with the Buddha's preaching; to the south-west of the capital were an Asoka tope at the spot where Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi made miraculous exhibitions and had many converts, and besides the tope the remains of a monastery built by that arhat.

Mo-ha-la-ch'a (Mahārāṣṭra)

North-west from this he entered a great forest-wilderness ravaged by wild beasts and harried by banded robbers, and travelling 2400 or 2500 *li* he came to the *Mo-ha-la-ch'a* (or *t'a*) country. This country was 6000 *li* in circuit and its capital, which had a large river on its west side, was above thirty *li* in circuit. The inhabitants were proud-spirited and war-like, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly.[26] Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in bat-

24. Though the country meant seems to be Koṅkaṇa, there is no agreement as to the capital. Beal, ii, p. 253 *n* 40 and Watters, ii, p. 238.

25. Here Beal adds: "The leaves (of this tree) are long and broad, their colour shining and glistening. In all the countries of India their leaves are everywhere used for writing on."

26. Further details found in Beal's version at this point are of interest: "If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (spears). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man down

tle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt. He was a kṣatriya by birth, and his name was *Pu-lo-ki-she*.[27] The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śīlāditya at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but *Mo-ha-la-ch'a* refused to become subject to him.

PULAKESIN II

The people were fond of learning, and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Of Buddhist monasteries there were above 100 and the Brethren who were adherents of both Vehicles, were more than 5000 in number. Within and outside the capital were five Asoka topes where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise and there were innumerable other topes of stone or brick. Not far from the south of the capital was an old monastery in which was a stone image of Kuan-tzu-tsai P'usa of marvellous efficacy.

In the east of this country was a mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery the base of which was in a dark defile, and its lofty halls and deep chambers were quarried in the cliff and rested on the peak, its tiers of halls and storeyed terraces had the cliff on their back and faced the ravine. This monastery had been built by the A-chē-lo (Ācāra) of West India.[28] The pilgrim then relates the circumstances in Ācāra's life which led to the building of the monastery.[29] Within the establishment, he adds, was a large

(a person who submits). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself." This practice survived at least to the eleventh century. cf. SII. v. No. 465 *ll.*25-6, and *Cōḷas,* i.p.275.

27. Pulakesin II, Cāḷukya.

28. The Ajaṇṭā Caves. An inscription here mentions the Sthavira Acala, as noted by Burgess. ASWI. iv. p. 135. The Chinese translation of the name, however, suggests the form Ācāra.

29. Watters omits this part of the narrative. In Beal's version we have: "This convent was built by the Arhat Ācāra (O-che-lo). This Arhat was a man of Western India. His mother having died, he looked to see in what condition she was re-born. He saw that she had received a woman's body in this kingdom. The Arhat accordingly came here with a view to convert her, according to her capabilities of receiving the truth. Having entered a village to beg food, he came to the house where his mother had been born. A young girl came forth with food to give him. At this moment

temple above 100 feet high in which was a stone image of the Buddha above seventy feet high; the image was surmounted by a tier of seven canopies unattached and unsupported, each canopy separated from the one above it by the space of three feet. The walls of this temple had depicted on them the incidents of the Buddha's career as Bodhisattva, including the circumstances of his attaining bodhi and the omens attending his final passing away, all great and small were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery, on either side north and south, was a stone elephant, and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing of these elephants caused earthquakes. The P'usa Ch'ên-na or Diṅnāga stayed much in this monastery.

Po-lu-ka-che-p'o (Bharoch)

From this the pilgrim went west[30] above 1000 *li* (about 200 miles), crossed the *Nai-mo-t'ê* river, and came to the *Po-lu-kie-(ka)-che-p'an* (or *p'o*)[31] country. This was 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit, and its capital above twenty *li*; the soil was brackish and vegetation was sparse; salt was made by boiling sea-water, and the people were supported by the sea; they were mean and deceitful, ignorant and believers in both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 Brethren, all students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school.

—Watters: *On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India,* ii pp. 193-241 (cf. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World* ii, pp. 204-260).

the milk came from her breasts and trickled down. Her friends having seen this considered it an unlucky sign, but the Arhat recounted the history of her birth. The girl thus attained the holy fruit (of *Arhatship*). The Arhat, moved with gratitude for her who had borne and cherished him, and remembering the end of such (good) works, from a desire to requite her, built this saṅghārāma."

30. North, according to the *Life*, which is better. Watters ii, p. 241.

31. Bharoch, at the mouth of the Narbada, 200 miles N. W. of (Ajanta). Watters *ib*,

XV. I-TSING

(A) *Itineraries*

i. *I-tsing*

From Canton to Fo-che=Palembang (Sumatra) 20 days

From Fo-che to Mo-lo-yu=Malayu, on the River Jambi (E. coast of Sumatra) 15 days

From Mo-lo-yu to Kie-tch'a=Kedah on the W. coast of the Malay peninsula 15 days

From Kie-tch'a, northwards, to the Nicobars (Lo-jen-Kouo, the land of naked men) 10 days

From Lo-jen-Kouo to Tāmraliptī (on the Hoogly) in a N.W. direction 1½ months[1]

ii. *Wou-Hing*[2] *and Tche-hong (two other pilgrims)*

From Chen-wan (in Tonkin) to Che-li-fo-che (Palembang) 1 month

From Che-li-fo-che to Mo-lo-yu 15 days

From Mo-lo-yu to Kie-tch'a 15 days

From Kie-tch'a West to Nāgapaṭṭana (Na-kia-po-tan-na). 30 days

From Nāgapaṭṭana to Ceylon 2 days[3]

—*Ferrand*, J.A. 11 : 14, p. 51.

Note : Takakusu, *I-tsing,* gives 20 days for the journey from Negapatam to Ceylon (p. xlvi), which seems to be a mistake.

(B) i. *How the Buddhist priests were received and attended on at a Dinner*

I shall briefly describe the ceremony of inviting priests, in India as well as in the islands of the Southern Sea. In India the host comes previously to the priests, and after a salutation, invites them to the festival. On the Upavasatha-day he informs them saying, 'It is the time.'

1. Chavannes: *Religieux Eminents*, pp. 119-21.
2. See (E) vi below.
3. Chavannes: *op. cit.* pp. 144-45.

The preparation of the utensils and seats for the priests is made according to circumstances. Necessaries may be carried (from the monastery) by some of the monastic servants; or provided by the host. Only copper utensils as a rule are used, which are cleansed by being rubbed with fine ashes. Each priest sits on a small chair placed at such a distance that one person may not touch another. The shape of the chair has already been described in chapter iii.[4]

VESSELS

It is not wrong, however, to use earthenware utensils once, if they have not been used before. When they have been already used, they should be thrown away into a ditch, for used vessels (lit. 'touched') should not be preserved at all. Consequently in India, at almsgiving places at the side of the road, there are heaps of discarded utensils which are never used again. Earthenware (of superior quality) such as is manufactured at Siang-yang (in China) may be kept after having been employed, and after having been thrown away may be cleansed properly. In India there were not originally porcelain and lacquer works. Porcelain, if enamelled, is, no doubt, clean. Lacquered articles are sometimes brought to India by traders; people of the islands of the Southern Sea do not use them as eating utensils, because food placed in them receives an oily smell. But they occasionally make use of them when new, after washing the oily smell away with pure ashes. Wooden articles are scarcely ever employed as eating utensils, yet, if new, they may be used once, but never twice, this being prohibited in the Vinaya.

The ground of the dining hall at the host's house is strewn over with cow-dung, and small chairs are placed at regular intervals; and a large quantity of water is prepared in a clean jar.

WASHING

When the priests arrive they untie the fastenings of their cloaks. All have clean jars placed before them: they examine the water, and if there are no insects in it, they wash their feet with it, then they sit down on the small chairs. When they have rested awhile, the host, having observed the time and finding that the sun is nearly at the zenith, makes this announcement: 'It is the time.' Then each priest, folding his cloak by its two corners, ties them in front, and taking up the right corner of his skirt, holds it by the girdle

4. In Ch. iii. (p. 22) we read: "In India the priests wash their hands and feet before meals, and sit on separate small chairs. The chair is about seven inches high by a foot square, and the seat of it is wicker-work made of rattan cane. The legs are rounded, and, on the whole, the chair is not heavy."

at his left side. The priests cleanse their hands with powder made of peas or earth-dust; and either the host pours water, or the priests themselves use water out of the Kuṇḍī (i.e. jars); this is done according as they find one way or the other more convenient. Then they return to their seats. Next eating-utensils are distributed *to the guests,* which they wash slightly so that water does not flow over them. It is never customary to say a prayer before meals. The host, having cleansed his hands and feet (by this time), makes an offering to saints (images of arhats) at the upper end of the row of seats; then he distributes food to the priests. At the lowest end of the row an offering of food is made to the mother, Hārītī.

* * *

The following is the manner of serving food. First, one or two pieces of ginger about the size of the thumb are served (to every guest), as well as a spoonful or half of salt on a leaf. He who serves the salt, stretching forth his folded hands and kneeling before the head priest, mutters 'Samprāgatam' (well come!). This is translated by 'good arrival.' * * * Now the head priest says 'Serve food equally.'

* * *

He who serves food, standing before the guests, whose feet are in a line, bows respectfully, while holding plates, cakes, and fruits in his hands, serves them about one span away from (or above) the priest's hands; every other utensil or food must be offered one or two inches above the guest's hands. If anything is served otherwise, the guests should not receive it. The guests begin to eat as soon as the food is served; they should not trouble themselves to wait till the food has been served all round.

That they should wait till the food has been served equally all round is not a correct interpretation. Nor is it according to the Buddha's instruction that one should do as one likes after a meal.

Next some gruel made of dried rice and bean soup is served with hot butter sauce as flavouring, which is to be mixed with the other food with the fingers. They (the guests) eat with the right hand, which they do not raise up higher than the middle part of the belly. Now cakes and fruits are served; ghee and also some sugar. If any guest feels thirsty, he drinks cold water, whether in winter or summer. The above is a brief account of the eating of the priests in daily life as well as at a reception.

—Takakusu, *I-tsing*, pp. 35-40.

(B) ii. *On chop sticks in China and India*

As to the mode of eating in the West, they use only the right hand, but if one has had an illness or has some other reason, one is permitted to keep a spoon *for use.* We never hear of chop-sticks in the five parts of India; they are not mentioned in the Vinaya of the Four Schools (Nikāyas), and it is only China that has them. Laymen naturally follow the old custom (of using sticks), and priests may or may not use them according to their inclination. Chop-sticks were never allowed nor were they prohibited, thus the matter should be treated according to the 'abridged teaching,' for when the sticks are used, people do not discuss or murmur.

In China they may be used, for if we obstinately reject their use, people may laugh or complain.

They must not be used in India. Such is the idea of the 'abridged teaching' (Samkṣiptavinaya).

—*Op. cit.* p. 90.

(C) *On clothing in different lands*

If we come to India in Chinese garments, they all laugh at us; we get much ashamed in our hearts, and we tear our garments to be used for miscellaneous purposes, for they are all unlawful. If I do not explain this point, no one will know the fact. Although I wish to speak straightforwardly, yet I fear to see my hearer indignant. Hence I refrain from expressing my humble thought, yet I move about reflecting upon these points.

I wish that the wise may pay serious attention and notice the proper rules of clothing. Further, laymen of India, the officers and people of a higher class have a pair of white soft cloth for their garments, while the poor and lower classes of people have only one piece of linen. It is only the homeless member of the Saṅgha who possesses the three garments and six Requisities, and a priest who wishes for more (lit. who indulges in luxury) may use the thirteen Necessaries.[5] In China priests are not allowed to have a garment

5. I-tsing says elsewhere:

"There are strict rules about the six Requisites and the thirteen Necessaries fully explained in the Vinaya. The following are the six Requisites of a Bhikṣu:—

1. The Saṅghāṭi, which is translated by the 'double cloak.'
2. The Uttarāsanga, which is translated by the 'upper garment.'
3. The Antarvāsa, which is translated by the 'inner garment.'

The above three are all called cīvara. In the countries of the North

possessed of two sleeves or having one back, but the fact is that they themselves follow the Chinese customs, and falsely call them Indian. Now I shall roughly describe the people and their dresses in Jambudvīpa and all the remote islands. From the Mahābodhi eastward to Lin-i (i.e. Champā) there are twenty countries extending as far as the southern limits of Kwan Chou (in Annam). If we proceed to the south-west we come to the sea; and in the north Kaṣmīra is its limit. There are more than ten countries (islands) in the Southern Sea, added to these the Simhala island (Ceylon). In all these countries people wear two cloths (Skt. kambala). These are of wide linen eight feet long, which has no girdle and is not cut or sewn, but is simply put around the waist to cover the lower part.

Besides India there are countries of the Pārasas (Persians) and the Tajiks (generally taken as Arabs), who wear shirt and trousers. In the country of the naked people (Nicobar Isles) they have no dress at all; men and women alike are all naked. From Kaṣmīra to all the Mongolic countries such as Suli, Tibet, and the country of the Turkish tribes, *the customs* resemble one another to a great extent; *the people in these* countries do not wear the covering-cloth (Skt. Kambala), but use wool or skin as much as

these priestly cloaks are generally called kāṣāya from their reddish colour. This is not, however, a technical term used in the Vinaya.

4. Pātra, the bowl.
5. Niṣīdana, something for sitting or lying on.
6. Parisrāvaṇa, a water-strainer.

A candidate for Ordination should be furnished with a set of the six Requisites.

The following are the thirteen Necessaries:

1. Sanghāṭī, a double cloak.
2. Uttarāsanga, an upper garment.
3. Antarvāsa, an inner garment.
4. Niṣīdana, a mat for sitting or lying on.
5. Nivāsana, an under garment.
6. Prati-nivāsana (a second nivāsana).
7. Sankakṣikā, a side-covering cloth.
8. Prati-sankakṣikā (a second sankakṣikā).
9. Kāya-proñchana, a towel for wiping the body.
10. Mukha-proñchana, a towel for wiping the face.
11. Keśapratigraha, a piece of cloth used for receiving hair when one shaves.
12. Kaṇḍupraticchādana, a piece of cloth for covering itches.
13. (Bheṣajapariṣkāracīvara), a cloth for defraying the cost of medicine in case of necessity," [rather—a cloth for filtering medicine]—pp. 54-5.

they can, and there is very little karpāsa (i.e. cotton), which we see sometimes worn. As these countries are cold, the people always wear shirt and trousers. Among these countries the Pārasas, the Naked People, the Tibetans,[6] and the Turkish tribes have no Buddhist law, but the other countries had and have followed Buddhism; and in the districts where shirts and trousers are used the people are careless about personal cleanliness. Therefore *the people of* the five parts of India are proud of their purity and excellence.

—Takakusu: *I-Tsing*, pp. 67-8.

(D) *Brahmans*

The Brahmans are regarded throughout the five parts of India as the most honourable (caste). They do not, when they meet in a place, associate with the other three castes, and the mixed classes of the people have still less intercourse with them. The scriptures they revere are the four Vedas, containing about 100,000 verses; 'Veda' hitherto was wrongly transcribed by the Chinese characters 'Wei-t'o;' the meaning of the word is 'clear understanding' or 'knowledge.' The Vedas have been handed down from mouth to mouth, not transcribed on paper or leaves. In every generation there exist some intelligent Brahmans who can recite the 100,000 verses. In India there are two traditional ways by which one can attain to great intellectual power. Firstly, by repeatedly committing to memory the intellect is developed; secondly, the alphabet fixes one's ideas. By this way, after a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard (not requiring to be told twice). This is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men.

—Takakusu: *I-tsing*, pp. 182-183.

(E) *Six pilgrims of I-tsing's time*

(i) Then *Ming-Yuen* arrived in the island of the son of the Lion (Ceylon) where he became the object of respectful attentions

6. We know very little of the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. In A.D. 632 the first Buddhist King of Tibet sent an envoy to India to get the Buddhist Scriptures. I-tsing's date is A.D. 671-695, and he says that the country had no Buddhism. We know, however, that some of the Pārasas (Persian settlers) had become Buddhists in Hiuen Thsang's time (see Hiuen Thsang under Persia), and Tibet too was Buddhistic in his time.—Takakusu.

from the sovereign. Then he got into the tower secretly and stole the tooth of the *Fo* (Buddha), which he hoped to take to his country in order that one may make many offerings to it. When he attempted to do so, by a just turn of events he was forced to give it up. The affair was not to his liking and he covered himself with disgrace and shame.

He then went to South India. I heard that following the advice of a man in Ceylon, he went (for rest) to the central place where the monastery of the Great Knowledge (Mahābodhi) is situated; but there is no news of him and he must have died on the way; we do not know how old he was.

The people of the island of Ceylon guard this tooth of *Fo* (Buddha) with extraordinary care. They have placed it in a high tower; they lock its many doors with complicated safety locks; on the locks they set a seal on which five officials affix their marks. If a door is opened, a resounding noise fills the town and its suburbs. Every day they go and make offerings to this relic, and cover it with fragrant flowers on all sides. If one supplicates with great faith, then the tooth appears above the flowers or a supernatural light is produced, and the whole crowd can see it.

According to one tradition, if this island loses the tooth of Buddha, it will fall a prey to the Rākṣasas; to prevent this calamity, the tooth is guarded with exceptional care.

According to another tradition, this tooth must go to the country of China. That will be the distant effect of holy power; if we have faith, it will come. How could this be realised by the aid of a man who pretended to accomplish by violence what was not his task?

—*Religieux Eminents* par I-tsing, Traduit en Francais par Edouard Chavannes, pp. 54-6.

(ii) The venerable *(I)-lang* embarked with his younger brother for Ceylon where he wanted to study the different systems. He prostrated in adoration before the tooth of the Buddha, and then travelled little by little in the countries of the West.

Such are the reports that have reached me; but now I do not know where he is. I did not find him in the island of Ceylon; nor did I hear of him in Central India. It is probable that his soul has taken on other births. He was more than forty years of age.

—*Op. cit.* pp. 58-9.

(iii) *Ta-tch'eng-teng,* called Mo-ho-ye-na-po-ti-i-po (Mahāyānapradīpa) in Sanskrit, spent many years in Dvāravatī, and

" then took the images of *Fo* (Buddha) and procured for himself the sūtras and śāstras; he then traversed the southern seas and arrived in the kingdom of Ceylon where he went and adored the tooth of *Fo* (Buddha). He witnessed all the supernatural prodigies. He traversed Southern India and reached Eastern India where he stopped in the country of Tan-mono-li-ti (Tāmraliptī)."

—*Op. cit.* p. 71.

(iv) *Tao-lin* travelled in South India to gather information on the dark systems (pour s'y renseigner sur le regles sombres).

—*Op. cit.* p. 101.

(v) *Hiuen-yeou,* disciple of Seng-tché, was a native of the kingdom of Kao-li.[7] In the wake of his master he went to the kingdom of the son of the Lion (Ceylon) and there he renounced the world; he is now settled there.

—*Op. cit.* p. 133.

(vi) Then (after his sojourn in Śrī Vijaya) *Ou-hing* embarked on a royal boat; after fifteen days he landed in the isle of *Molouo-yu*;[8] after another fifteen days he arrived in the country of Kié-tch'a.[9] When it was the last month of winter, he changed his course and turned towards the West. After thirty days, he reached the country of Na-kia-po-tan-na (Nāgapatana); leaving this place, he arrived, after two days on the sea, in the island of the Son of the Lion (Ceylon); there he went and worshipped the tooth of the Buddha. Leaving Ceylon, he resumed his voyage going north-east, and, at the end of one month, he reached Ho-li-ki-louo (Harikela).[10]

—*Religieux Eminents*, pp. 144-5.

7. In Korea.
8. Malāyu in Sumatra.
9. Kedah.
10. The country between Tāmraliptī and Utkala.

XVI. 692-720 A.D. EMBASSIES FROM SOUTH INDIA TO CHINA

In the third month of the third year *t'ien-cheou* (692), the king of the kingdom of Eastern India Mo-lo-pa-mo, the king of the kingdom of Western India Che-lo-ito (Śīlāditya), the king of the kingdom of the South India Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo (Cāḷukya Vallabha), the king of the kingdom of Northern India Na-na, the king of the kingdom of central India Ti-mo-si-na and the king of the kingdom Kieou-tse (Koutcha) Yen-yao-pa all came to render homage and make presents. (pp. 24-25).

(The kingdom of South India, among others sent an embassy with tribute and the products of the country). In the reign of the Emperor Joei-tsong, in the 9th month of the first year (710) the kingdom of South India and the T'ou-po, (Tibetans), and in the 10th month the kingdoms of Sie-yu (Zabulistan) and of Ki-pin (Kapiśa) all sent ambassadors bringing in tribute and products of their countries. The Kagan "who respects the transformation," the Tou-k'i-che (Turgach) Cheou-tchong, ordered an ambassador to go and render homage (p. 28).

I. In the eighth year of K'ai-yuen (720), the king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li Na-lo-seng-kia (Śrī Narasimha), proposed to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Arabs) as well as the T'ou-po (Tibetans)[1] and others. Moreover he asked that a name be given to his army; the emperor praised it greatly and named his army; " the army which cherished virtue."

II. In the 8th year K'ai-yuen (720), the 8th month, the day ting-tch'eou, a decree was addressed to tchong-chow-men-hia to inform him that the king of South India having sent from afar (an ambassador) to render homage and pay tribute, and this ambassador being due to return, he must look after him with the greatest care till his departure and act in such a way that his desires might be fulfilled. This ambassador was therefore given a robe of flowered silk, a golden girdle, a purse with an emblem in the form of a fish and the seven objects; then he was sent away.

1. In this period "the supremacy of Tibet was so firmly established in Bengal that, for 200 years, the Bay of Bengal was known as the sea of Tibet." BG. Li. p. 501. See Abulfeda ed. Reinaud ccclviii, Encycl. Br. Tibet. Ibn Hawkal and Al Ishtakri called the Bay by that name.

III. In the 11th month, an ambassador was sent to confer by brevet the title of king of the kingdom of South India on the king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li-Na-lo-seng-k'ia pao-to-pa-mo (Śrī Narasimha Pōtavarman).

The texts marked I and II under year 720 are found again in *Kieou T'ang Chou* which adds the following: "the 9th month, the King of South India Che-li-Na-lo-seng-k'ia-to-pa (Śrī Narasimha Pōtavarman) constructed a temple on account of the empire (i.e. of China); he addressed to the emperor a request asking from him an inscription giving a name to this temple; by decree, it was decided that the name should be 'which causes return to virtue' (Koei-hoa) and it was presented to him (i.e. the emperor sent Narasimha a tablet with the inscription *Koei-hoa se,* so that it might be placed on the front of the temple erected in India by Narasimha for the benefit of China)." This Narasimha, king of Kāñcī, is known to us from the *Mahāvamsa* and from the inscriptions of India; and relying on these last pieces of evidence, inscriptions, Sylvain-Lévi has proposed to carry back the reign of this prince to about 700 A.D. (J.A .1900 May-June); we see that his conclusion is borne out by the Chinese texts which speak at such length of Śrī Narasimha Pōtavarman in 720. (Chavannes, p. 44 *n*)

The data given in these extracts from *Ts'o fou yuan Kouei,* a great Chinese cyclopaedia compiled about 1013 A. D., are confirmed by the following extract from Ma Twan-lin:

"In the third of the years *keen-fung* (A. D. 667), the Five Indias (or five kingdoms of India) sent ambassadors to the court of the emperor. In the years *kae-yuen* (A.D. 713 to 742), an ambassador from Central India proceeded three times as far as the extremity of southern India, and came only once to offer birds of five colours that could talk. He applied for aid against the Ta-she (or Arabs) and the Too-fan (or Tibetans), offering to take the command of the auxiliary troops. The Emperor Heuen-tsung (who reigned from A. D. 713 to 756) conferred upon him the rank of general-in-chief. The Indian ambassadors said to him: 'the *Fan* (or Tibetan) barbarians are captivated only by clothes and equipments. Emperor! I must have a long, silk embroidered robe, a leathern belt decorated with gold, and a bag in the shape of a fish.' All these articles were ordered by the emperor."

—Chavannes: *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *Occidentaux.* Toung Pao II 5: pp. 1-110; and JASB vi., p. 71 for Ma-Twan-lin.

XVII. *C.* 750 A.D.—KANSHIN ON BRAHMIN TEMPLES AND MERCHANTS IN CANTON

The Chinese priest Kien-tchen, (742-54), Kanshin in Japanese, made a voyage from China to Japan, and this was described by his contemporary and disciple Aomi-no Mabito Genkai. In this description we read: "There were also three monasteries of Po-lo-men (Brahmans) where Brahmans were residing. The tanks in these monasteries contained blue lotuses, particularly beautiful, of which the flowers, leaves and roots were perfumed.

"On the river (of Kouang-tong) (Canton) there were merchantmen belonging to the Po-lo-men (Brahmans of India), the Po-sseu (Persians), the K'ouen-louen (Malays), and others besides, of which it is difficult to determine the number. They were all laden with incense, herbs, jewels and other precious products. The merchandise was piled up in heaps. These ships were 60 to 70 feet deep.

"The barbarians, white, red and so on, coming from the Land of the Lion (Siṃhala, Ceylon), the Land of the Ta-che (Tadjik, Arabia), or the Land of the Kou-t'ang were in the habit of coming or stopping there. An enormous variety of races was encountered there."

—Tr. from Takakusu in BEFEO xxviii. pp. 466-67. (cf. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages*: ii. 640. See also Ferrand: JA. 11:13, (1919), p. 246).

XVIII. 844-8 A.D. IBN-KHURDADBEH

(*A*) *Route to the East*

Narmechīreh,[1] the boundary between Persia and Sind, is 7 days' journey by water (from Ormuz) ;—From there to Daibal, 8 days. This town is two parasangs from the Mouth of the Mehrān (Indus). The country of Sind produces the costus (costus speciosus), cane and bamboo. From the river Mehran to (Yeksir?)[2] where Indian territory begins, 4 days. They gather cane in the mountains and corn[3] in the plains; the people, divided into tribes, live by brigandage. Two farsakhs beyond, there lives another people the Meyd,[4] who also apply themselves to stealing. From there to Koul (or Koula), 2 parasangs. From Kaoul to Sendān, where you have the teakwood (sadj) and cane, 18 parasangs. From Sendān to Mely (Malabar), land of pepper and bamboo, 5 days. The sailors say that every bunch of pepper is covered up by a leaf which shelters it from the rain; when the rain ceases, the leaves turn off; if it starts raining again, they cover the fruit once more. From Mely to Balin,[5] 2 journeys. From there to the great gulf (sea) 2 days. At Balin, the route divides itself (into two). Following the coast, we reach Baneh (or Bas), which produces rice which they carry to Serandīb, 2 days. Sandy and Askan, land producing rice, 2 days. Koura, where many rivers empty themselves, 3 parasangs. Kilakān (Kilkayān), Louar and Kendjeh, 2 days. This country produces wheat and rice; they send aloes by way of the fresh water,[6] from countries situated at a distance of 15 days, such as Kamoul and other places. From Semender to Ourtasir,[7] great kingdom where abound the elephant, the horse, the buffalo and all sorts of products, 12 parasangs. From Ourtasir to Aīneh, where again we find elephants, 4 days. From Houbalin (?) to Serendīb, 2 days.

Serendīb (Ceylon) is 80 parasangs in length and breadth. We find there the mountain on which Adam was thrown (after having been chased from the earthly paradise). The summit is lost in

1. Nārmasīrā.
2. Bakar (Elliot and Dowson).
3. Wheat (E. and D.).
4. The Meds.
5. Balbun—(E and D).
6. The Godāvari according to Dr. Sprenger.
7. Urasir—(E. and D.).

the clouds, and it is perceived by navigators from a distance of about twenty days (*sic*). The Brahmans, who are the pious people of India, show on this mountain the impress of one of the feet of Adam; the other is found in India, at a distance of two or three days from the first. They gather in this mountain aloes, pepper, and many kinds of aromatic stuff and perfumes. We find in the neighbourhood different varieties of rubies and other precious stones; in fine, in the valley, a mine of diamonds and musk-goats (des chèvres à musc). The people of India say that the foot of Adam has left only one mark on the rock, and that a flame leaps up incessantly on the summit of the mountain like lightning. Serendīb produces cocoanut and emery which serves to polish the metals; we find in its rivers rock-crystals and along its coasts are established the pearl-fisheries.

—*Le Livre des Routes et des Provinces*: ed. C. Barbier de Meynard. JA.: 6: v: pp. 283-6. (Cf. Elliot and Dowson i, pp. 15-16.)

(*B*) *Principal Kings of India*: *Elephants*

The kings and the peoples of India abstain from wine; but they consider adultery a lawful act with the exception of the king of Ḳomar who abstains from both. On the contrary the king of Serendīb gets the wines of Irak for his use. All the kings set great store on the elephant, and they compete for its acquisition at gold prices. The maximum height of this animal is 9 cubits. However, in *Ghobb*[8] one could find elephants which are 10 or 11 cubits high. The most powerful sovereign of India is the Balharā whose name signifies 'King of Kings.' On his ring is engraved this motto: "Anything undertaken with passion always ends in success." After him come the King of Tafen, the King of Djabah (Java); the King of Djozr (Gujerat?) where the dirhems called the *tatherides* are current; the King of Anah, and Rahma. The states of the last named are far from all the others by a year's journey.[9] Rahma possesses 50,000 elephants, cotton stuffs and aloes. After him comes the King of Kamroun, whose kingdom touches China and abounds in rhinoceroses. This animal has a horn in front, one cubit long and the thickness of two palms. We find a sort of figure marked in the direction of its length. When it is

8. Masūdī places this in the neighbourhood of Ceylon.—C. Barbier de Meynard.

9. Masūdī places the empire of Rahma near Guzerat.—Barbier de Meynard.

slit, inside one could find standing out in white on a black background, the image of a man, horse, fish, peacock or some other bird. The Chinese buy them to make waist bands of which the price varies from two hundred dinars up to three or four thousand.

All the kings of whom we have just spoken, have their ears bored. The king of Zabedj is named Maharaja. He possesses in his states an Island named *Dhou-Tail,* which resounds with the sounds of tambours and timbals. According to the report of sailors, in these parts one finds a horse which resembles the species of horse found among us, but whose mane is so long that it drags on the ground. The Maharaja collects each day a contribution of 200..pieces of Gold. He melts this sum into a single ingot and throws it into the water saying, "Here is my treasury." There is in this sea an Island in which there are monkeys that have tails like that of an ass.

—J.A.: *ibid.* pp. 289-91.

(C) *Castes*

There are seven castes in India :

1. The *Sabekferya* (B. the Sabiens, Ed. Sakrya). This is the caste of the nobility and of the king. All the other castes prostrate before them, but they do not render this homage to any one.
2. The Brahmans, who drink neither wine nor any fermented liquor.
3. The Kesrya (Kṣatriya). They drink 3 cups of wine only. They cannot marry into Brahman families, but the latter marry their daughters.
4. The Soudarya (Śūdra) or cultivators.
5. Meïsera (Vaiśya) artisans and labourers.
6. The Sandalya (Chaṇḍāla) servants and escorts.
7. The Zenya (musicians and jugglers).

There are 42 religious sects among the Hindus. Some believe in God (may His holy name be glorified) and in the mission of the prophets; others reject the prophets, yet others reject all these beliefs alike.

In this country is found a class of magicians who realize everything that they wish for, by their spells and heal all sickness. Versed in the occult sciences and in the art of divination, they exercise an absolute authority, do good and evil, conjure up apparitions and phantoms which strike the spirit with fear, and command rain and hail.

—J.A.: *ibid.* pp. 295-6 (cf. Elliot and Dowson i. pp. 16-17).

XIX. TWO ARAB WRITERS

I. Anonymous (Suleiman ?)

A. *The Maldives, Ceylon and other islands*

The third sea is the sea of Harkand (Bay of Bengal). Between this sea and that of Lār (Gujerat) lie numerous islands (the Laccadives and the Maldives). They say that their number goes up to 1900. These isles separate the two seas. They are governed by a woman. Occasionally, (the sea casts upon the shores) of these islands large pieces of amber; these pieces often look like a plant or something similar. This amber grows like a plant, at the bottom of the sea. When the sea is very rough, it throws up the amber to the surface, and the pieces of amber look like mushrooms or truffle.

In these islands, where a woman rules, cocoanut is cultivated. These islands are separated from one another by distances of two, three or four parasangs.[1] They are all inhabited, and they grow the cocoanut-trees in all of them. The wealth of the people is constituted by cowries; their queen amasses large quantities of these cowries in the royal depots. They say that there is not in existence a people more industrious than these islanders, so much so that they weave tunics of a single piece with two sleeves, two facings of the collar and the opening of the chest. They build ships, houses and execute all sorts of works with a consummate art.

The cowries are got by them from the surface of the sea. (The head of this mollusc) encloses something living. (To fish them up), they take a branch of the cocoanut tree, and put it in the sea, and the cowries attach themselves to it. The islanders give the cowries the name of *kabtaj*.

The last of these Isles is (Sirandib) Ceylon; it is situated in the sea of Harkand. It is the most important island of this archipelago.

All these islands (the Laccadives and the Maldives) are called Dībajāt. At Sirandib is found a pearl fishery. The island is completely surrounded by the sea. In the island there is a mountain called Rahūn on which was thrown Adam—Salutation to him —(when he was chased out of earthly paradise). The print of his

1. A *parasang* is about five miles.

feet is on the summit of the mountain hollowed in the stone. At the summit of the mountain there is only the mark of a single step. It is said that Adam in taking a stride put his other leg into the sea. It is also said that the footprint found at the summit of the mountain is about 70 cubits long.

In a region around this mountain abundant precious stones are found: rubies, topaz, and sapphire.

In the island of Ceylon there are two kings. It is big and extensive. Aloes, gold, precious stones are found on it and in the sea which bathes it, the pearl and shank are found. The latter is a big shell used as a trumpet into which one blows. It is preserved like a precious thing.

—Ferrand, *Voyage*, pp. 31-3.

B. *On India, China and their Kings*

The people of India and China are of unanimous opinion that the great kings of the world are four in number. The first among them in rank is the king of the Arabs, (that is to say the Khalif of Baghdad). Indians and Chinese are agreed without contradiction on the fact that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of the kings, the richest and the most magnificent, that is the king of the great religion of Islam, above whom there is no one. The king of China takes the second rank, after the king of the Arabs. Then follows the king of Rum (Byzance) and the Ballahrâ, the king of those who have their ears bored (to suspend rings). The Ballahrâ is the sovereign of India who belongs to the highest nobility, which the Indians themselves recognize. Each king of the Indians is independent, but all recognize the high nobility of the Ballahrâ. When the Ballahrâ sends ambassadors to other kings, the latter pray in the name of these ambassadors to do honour to him whom they represent. The Ballahrâ makes generous gifts like the Arabs. He has horses and elephants, in great number, and plenty of money. His money is the *dirham* (piece of gold), called *tâṭirî*. The weight of each of these dirham is equal to that of one *dirham* and half of the king's money.

The Ballahrâ dates his era starting from the year of the reign of the sovereign who preceded him (*sic*),[2] whilst the Arabs date from the Hegira of the Prophet—Salutation to him;—as against the latter, the Indians date according to the kings, and their kings reign long, sometimes a king reigns for 50 years. The subjects of

2. Here Reinaud has: "Their era starts from the year in which the dynasty came to the throne." (p. 25)—which is more intelligible.

Ballahrâ claim that if their kings reign and live long, it is due to the affection that they have for the Arabs. There is in fact no king who has greater affection for the Arabs than the Ballahrâ. It is the same with his subjects.

Ballahrâ is the title of all the kings of this country like Kisra (for Persians, Caesar for Romans). It is not a proper name. The territory of the Ballahrâ kingdom begins on the sea coast (west of India) where there is a country called the Konkan, which borders on it and extends through a part of the Asiatic continent, stretching right up to China. Around the kingdom of the Ballahrâ there are a number of kings with whom it is in a state of war, but it is always victorious. Among the enemy kings there is one called the king of Gujra. He commands an important army. No other Indian king has a cavalry comparable to his. The king of Gujra is the enemy of the Arabs, but he recognizes, however, that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. No king of India hates Islam as much as he. He reigns over a strip of land. He possesses great riches, camels and beasts in great number. (In his country) buying is done with bullion-money. It is said that mines of this metal are found there. There is no country in India where one is better protected from robbers.[3]

—*Op. cit.* pp. 47-9.

3. This is what Masūdī (d. 956 A.D.) says on the Balharâ:
"The greatest of the kings of India in our time is the Balharâ, sovereign of the city of Mankīr. Many of the kings of India turn their faces towards him in their prayers, and they make supplications to his ambassadors, who come to visit them. The kingdom of Balharâ is bordered by many other countries of India. Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the Rai, King of Kashmir, the King of Tafan, and others. There are other kings who possess both land and sea. The capital of the Balharâ is eighty Sindi parasangs from the sea, and the parasang is equal to eight miles. His troops and elephants are innumerable, but his troops are mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains. One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is the Bauura, who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings." (Elliot and Dowson i. p. 21; see also Ferrand: *Relations*, i, p. 94). The king is uniformly called Balharâ and his capital Mankīr by the Arab writers. There is no doubt that Balharâ stands for Vallabha, i.e., here Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Mankīr for Malkhed, the Mānyakheṭa of the South Indian Inscriptions. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the most powerful Western Indian dynasty in the ninth and tenth centuries. Cf. Ferrand, *op. cit.* n. 3 at p. 94 citing Masūdī himself in support of this view; *contra* the note on Balharâ, Elliot and Dowson, i.pp.354-8, which must now be taken to be antiquated.

C. *Royal Funeral in Ceylon*

When the king of Sirandib (Ceylon) dies his corpse is laid on a chariot near the ground. The corpse is tied to the back of the chariot, the legs in the air, the back against the chariot (facing behind) so that the hair trails in the dust on the ground. A woman throws dust on the royal head with a broom in her hand, and says to the people met for the occasion: "Eh! you! this was your king yesterday, he governed you and his order was absolute. He has come to the state of renouncing the goods of this world as you see him. The angel of death has taken his soul. Be no more henceforward seduced by the pleasures of this life." And she continues to speak in the same sense for three days (*sic*). Then a funeral pyre is prepared on which is put sandal, camphor and saffron. The body is burnt and its ashes are thrown to the winds. All the inhabitants of India burn their dead.

Ceylon is the most southern among the islands of India, of which it is a part. Sometimes when the corpse of the king is burnt his wives throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with him; but they may not do it.

—*Op. cit.* pp. 64-6.

D. *Ascetics*

There are in India some people who consecrate themselves to a life of wandering in the woods and the mountains. They rarely frequent men. They live on herbs and wild fruits from time to time. These recluses put an iron ring to the organ to prevent all sexual relationships with women. Some of them are nude; others stand facing the sun, equally nude, but covered by some panther skins. I have seen one of them in the state that I have just said (in a certain place) then I continued my way. Sixteen years later I went again by the same place, and I saw this ascetic in the same state. I was astonished that his eye had not been destroyed by the heat of the sun.

—*Op. cit.* p. 66.

E. *Marriage*

In India and in China when one wants to get married (the interested families) pay mutual compliments and give presents to each other. Then the marriage is celebrated to the sound of cymbals and drums. The presents exchanged on this occasion consist of sums of money which are proportionate to the wealth of the givers. If a man and a woman are convicted of adultery,

both are put to death, (such is the law) in the whole of India; but if the man has violated the woman, only he is put to death. If the woman has acted with full consent she is put to death with her paramour.

—*Op. cit.* p. 67.

F. Houses

The walls of the Chinese houses are of wood, the Indians construct their houses with stones, plaster and bricks baked in the fire and with clay. Sometimes in China also they build just like this.

—*Op. cit.* p. 68.

G. Food, Worship, etc.—Comparisons

The Indians eat rice, the Chinese wheat and rice. The Indians do not eat wheat. Neither the Indians nor the Chinese are circumcised.

The Chinese adore idols. They pray to them as Mussalmans pray to Allah. They address to them prayers. They possess religious books.

The Indians allow their beard to grow long. I have seen them sometimes having a beard three cubits long. They do not trim their moustaches (like the Mussalmans). The greater number of the Chinese have no beard, and for the greater part of them this is their natural condition. In India when a man dies the hair and the beard are shaved.

* * *

The Chinese and the Indians claim that their idols in the temples speak to them. But it is the priests (officiating ministers) of the temples that speak to them (and make them think the idols speak).

In China and in India, they kill animals to eat them, but they do not butcher them (so as to let the blood flow, as do the Mussalmans). They beat them on the head till they are dead. In India and in China they do not take a bath after a serious pollution (that which results from sexual relations), like the Mussalmans. The Chinese do not wash after going to stool. They just wipe themselves with paper. The Indians purify themselves each day by bathing before the morning meal, and then they eat.

The Indians do not have any sexual relationships with their women during the menstrual period. They make them go out of

their houses to avoid being polluted by them. The Chinese on the contrary have relations with their women during the menstrual period, and they do not make them leave their houses.

The Indians clean their teeth (with their tooth picks). No one in India would eat without cleaning his teeth and purifying himself by bath. The Chinese do not do thus.

India is more extensive than China. Its area is double that of China. It has a greater number of kings than China, but the latter is more thickly populated.

Neither China nor India has the date-tree; but they have other trees, and fruits we do not have are gathered in. In India there is no grape. There is a little in China. India and China produce other fruits in plenty. Pomegranates are found in India in abundance.

The Chinese have no religious science. The practices of their religion (Buddhism) are derived from India. They believe that it is the Indians who brought idols to them and that the latter were their religious educators. In China and in India they believe in metempsychosis. The Chinese and Indians draw from the same religious principles different conclusions.

In India medicine and philosophy are practised. The Chinese practise medicine equally. Their chief treatment is cauterization.

The Chinese practise astronomy but the Indians practise this science still more.

No Chinese or Indian Mussalman is known who does not speak Arabic.

In India there are few horses; there are more in China. In China there are no elephants. They are not allowed to penetrate into the country because they are animals of bad omen.

The armies of the king of India are numerous, but they receive nothing for their maintenance, neither food nor pay.

The king only convokes them in case of holy war. The troops then take the field and realize for themselves the cost of their maintenance. The king furnishes them nothing for this purpose. In China the troops receive the same pay as the troops of the Arabs.

China is a brighter and more flourishing country (than India). In the greater part of India there are no towns (the country is desert). In China on the contrary there is in each place a big fortified town. In China the climate is healthier, and sicknesses less numerous than in India. The air is so pure. There one does

not see either blind or one-eyed people nor deformed people. The infirm of this sort are numerous in India.

In China and in India there are everywhere great rivers, bigger ones than ours. It rains abundantly in these countries.

There are in India many deserts, in China the whole country is inhabited and cultivated. The Chinese are better made than the Indians. The clothing and the beasts of burden of the Chinese resemble more those of the Arabs than of the Indians. In costume and in the official processions the Chinese resemble the Arabs; they put on the costume called *kabā* by the Arabs and the sash. The Indians clothe themselves with two cloths. Men and women adorn themselves with bracelets of gold and precious stones.

—*Op. cit.* pp. 68-72.

II. 916 A.D. Abu Zaid

H. Companions of Honour

When they mount on the throne, some kings of India cause rice to be cooked which is then presented to them on the leaves of the banana. The king musters (on this occasion) three or four hundred friends (who attach themselves to him) by deliberate design, freely, without any one being forced to it. After eating of the rice himself, the king gives of it to his friends, and each one of them, in his turn, goes near (him), takes a little of the rice and eats it. When the king dies or is killed, all those who have eaten of the rice (with him in this sort of religious communion which binds them intimately), should burn themselves voluntarily on a pyre, to the last man, on the very day when the king ceases to live. (The king dead, his friends should disappear) without delay. This obligation is so imperative that there should remain nothing of these friends, neither body nor trace of themselves.

—*Op. cit.* (Abu Zaid), p. 114.[4]

4. Cf. the following curious account from *The Book of the Marvels of India* of about the same period:—

Touching singular customs, widespread throughout India, Hassan, son of Amr, tells me that he heard a sheik, a well-informed man, who had travelled the country, relate the story which follows.

One of the great kings of India was sitting down, taking a meal. Before him was a parrot in its cage. Said the king: "Come and eat with me." "I am frightened of cats," replied the parrot. "No matter," answered the king. "I will be your *balâudjer*,"—that is to say, in the Indian tongue, "I engage myself to suffer the like of anything that may happen to you." And this is how the above expression was explained by the old man. The kings of India have about their persons a company of men, which is more or less

I. Miscellaneous

The kings of India wear ear-rings of precious stones mounted on gold. They wear round the neck collars of great value made of precious stones, red (rubies) and green (emeralds) ; but pearls have the greatest value and in most cases they are used. In fact, pearls constitute the treasure of the kings and their financial reserve.

numerous, according to their degree of magnificence and the consequence of their state. These men say to the king : "We are your *balâudjers.*" He makes them eat rice with him, and gives them betel from his own hand. Each hacks off his little finger, and sets it before the king. And from that moment on, they follow him about, wherever he goes, eat what he eats and drink what he drinks. They superintend his food, and overlook everything which has to do with him. No concubine is brought to his bed, whether it be girl or boy, but they, first of all, examine them thoroughly ; no carpet is spread for his feet, till they have inspected it. The king is served with no drink nor dish, but they insist it should be, first of all, tasted by whoever brings it. And thus they do, in every instance, where the king might be exposed to some danger. If he dies, they commit suicide ; if he burns, they cast themselves into the flames ; if he falls ill, they mishandle themselves in order to share his sufferings. When a battle is fought, in the attack, they cluster round him and never leave his side. Only men of distinguished family, who are themselves comely and valiant and of good understanding, are admitted among the *balâudjers.* And that is how the word *balâudjer* is explained.

So when the king said to the parrot "I am your *balâudjer,*" he also took and ate a little of the parrot's rice. And, without hesitation, the bird hopped down from his cage, and set himself at table with the king. Along came a cat and snapped off the parrot's head. The king took the parrot's dead body, and laid it in a porcelain vase, together with camphor, aromatic spices, betel, chalk, and pepper. Then he beat on a drum, and traversed the city and the ranks of his army, carrying this vase in his hand. And, thereafter, so he did every day, going through his dominions with the vase. And this went on for years. At last, his *balâudjers* and other important subjects of the kingdom approached him and said : "Your behaviour is unseemly. It has gone on too long. Do your duty, or we shall be obliged to arrange for your deposition and take another king." And, in fact, whoever says, "I am your *balâudjer,*" and fails to comply with the obligations he has thus imposed upon himself, such a man becomes, according to the usage of the Hindus, *bahinda* or *ahinda,* which, in their parlance, is the name given to any man who, by reason of weakness, inability, or baseness of spirit, does not fulfil his obligations. Kings are no more exempt from this rule, than other men.

So, when the king saw this, he dug a pit and filled it with aloes wood, sandal, *salit,* set fire to it and flung himself therein. He was burned, and his *balâudjers* jumped in and were burned with him, to the number of some two thousand. And thus it came about, all because the king had said to his parrot : "I will be your *balâudjer.*" (pp. 99 to 101).

Cf. Vēḷaikkārar of the Tamil states, *Cōḷas,* ii pp. 225-6; and similar narratives of Marco Polo and Ibn Battûta.

The generals and the high functionaries wear equally collars of pearls. The Indian chiefs are carried in palanquin; they are clothed in a waist-cloth; they hold in the hand an object called chatra,—it is a parasol in the plumes of peacocks; they hold it in the hand to keep off the sun. They are surrounded (when they go out) by their servants.

There is, in India, a caste the members of which will not eat two from the same plate or even at the same table; they find this a pollution and an abomination. When these persons come to Siraf and one of the principal merchants invites them to a banquet in his house, at which about 100 persons are present, the host should cause to be set before each one of them a plate exclusively reserved for him.

As to the kings and notables, in India they prepare for them each day tables to eat in (the form of) leaves of the cocoanut excellently plaited; they manufacture with these same leaves of the cocoanut all sorts of plates and small dishes. When the meal is served, they eat the food in these plates and dishes of plaited leaves. When the repast is ended, they throw in the water these tables, plates and dishes of plaited leaves with what remains of the aliments. And they recommence it the next day.

* * *

Most of the kings of India, when they give public audience, allow their women to be seen by the men of the country and by strangers; no veil obstructs the view of them.

—Ferrand, *Voyage* (Abu Zaid), pp. 138-9.

XX. C. 1030 A.D. ALBERUNI

The southern frontier of India is formed by the ocean. The coast of India begins with Tīz, the capital of Makrān, and extends thence in a south-eastern direction towards the region of Al-daibal, over a distance of 40 *farsakh.*[1] Between the two places lies the Gulf of Tūrān. A gulf is like an angle or a winding line of water penetrating from the ocean into the continent, and is dangerous for navigation, specially on account of ebb and flood. An estuary is something similar to a gulf, but is not formed by the ocean's penetrating into the continent. It is formed by an expanse of flowing water, which there is changed into standing water and is connected with the ocean. These estuaries, too, are dangerous for the ships, because the water is sweet and does not bear heavy bodies as well as salt water does.

After the above-mentioned gulf follow the small Munha,[2] the great Munha, then the Bawārij, *i.e.*, the pirates of Kacch and Sōmanāth. They are thus called because they commit their robberies on sea in ships called *bīra*. The places on the coast are: *Tawalleshar,* 50 *farsakh* from Daibal;[3] *Lōharānī,* 12 *farsakh; Baga,* 12 *farsakh ; Kacch,* where the *mukl*-tree grows, and *Bāroī,*[4] 6 *farsakh; Sōmanāth,* 14 *farsakh ; Kanbāyat,*[5] 30 *farsakh; Asawil,* 2 days; *Bihrōj,*[6] 30 *farsakh* (?); *Sandān,* 50 *farsakh; Sūbāra,*[7] 6 *farsakh; Tāna,* 5 *farsakh.*

Thence the coast-line comes to the country *Lārān,* in which lies the city of *Jīmur,* then to *Vallabha, Kāñjī, Darvad.* Next follows a great bay in which *Singaldīb* lies, *i.e.*, the island Sarandīb (Ceylon). Round the bay lies the city of *Panjayāvar*[8] (*sic*). When this city had fallen into ruins, the king, Jaur, built instead of it, on the coast towards the west, a new city which he called *Padnār.*

The next place on the coast is *Ūmmalnāra,* then *Rāmsher* (Rameshar?) opposite Sarandīb; the distance of the sea between

1. A *farsakh* is 3 miles—Alberuni, ii. p. 68.
2. Cf. Skt. *Mukha,* mouth.
3. Karachi, Elliot and Dowson, i. p. 375.
4. Baroda.
5. Cambay.
6. Broach.
7. Sopara.
8. Tanjāvūr (?).

them is 12 *farsakh*. The distance from Panjayāvar to Rāmsher is 40 *farsakh*, that between Ramsher and *Setubandha* 2 *farsakh*. Setubandha means *bridge of the ocean*. It is the dike of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, which he built from the continent to the castle Laṅkā. At present it consists of isolated mountains between which the ocean flows. Sixteen *farsakh* from Setubandha towards the east is *Kihkind*,[9] the mountains of the monkeys. Every day the king of the monkeys comes out of the thicket together with his hosts, and settles down in particular seats prepared for them. The inhabitants of that region prepare for them cooked rice, and bring it to them on leaves. After having eaten it they return into the thicket, but in case they are neglected, this would be the ruin of the country, as they are not only numerous, but also savage and aggressive. According to the popular belief, they are a race of men changed into monkeys on account of the help which they had afforded to Rāma when making war against the demons; he is believed to have bequeathed those villages to them as legacy. When a man happens to fall in with them, and he recites to them the poetry of Rāma and pronounces the incantations of Rāma, they will quietly listen to him; they will even lead on the right path him who has gone astray and give him meat and drink. At all events, thus the matter stands according to popular belief. If there is any truth in this, the effect must be produced by the melody, the like of which we have already mentioned in connection with the hunting of gazelles.

KIHKIND

—Sachau—*Alberuni's India*, Vol. I pp. 208-10.

* * * *

In former times there were pearl-banks in the bay of Sarandīb (Ceylon), but at present they have been abandoned. Since the Sarandīb pearls have disappeared, other pearls have been found at Sufāla in the country of the Zanj, so that people say the pearls of Sarandīb have migrated to Sufāla.

PEARLS

—Sachau—*Alberuni's India*, Vol. I. p. 211.

9. Kiṣkindhā.

XXI. A MON INSCRIPTION FROM PROME OF THE REIGN OF KYANZITTHA (1084-1112 A.D.). CONVERSION OF A COLA PRINCE

Then the king wrote of the grace of the Buddharatna, Dharmmaratna, (and) Sangharatna (upon a leaf of gold with vermilion ink?), the king sent it to the Coli prince. The Coli prince, with all his array, hearing of the grace of Buddha, the Law, (and) the Church, from King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja's sending (word of it to him), he cast off his adhesion to false doctrines, (and) he adhered straightaway to the true doctrine ; he saw........, he was pleased (and) happy. ....(l. 15)........(of pearls?), an awning of pearls, a *kalpavṛkṣa*[1] tree adorned with the seven (kinds of) jewels, together with a virgin daughter of his who was perfect in form and with ornaments of divers kinds, who was shaded by a white umbrella, a peacock umbrella, a peacock........set with the seven (kinds of) jewels, (he) came to offer to King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. That too, other kings (l. 17) have not got the like of.

—*Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I. Translation by C. O. Blagden.

1. See the *Cōḷas*, ii. p. 66 for the present of a *kalpavṛkṣa* to the Cidambaram temple by Vikramacōḷa in 1128 A.D. Also Vogel, *Yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman*, pp. 214-15, Ins. C., for a much earlier example C 400 A.D. from Borneo.

XXII. C. 1170 A.D. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA

This Jewish traveller from Spain, relates that about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the island of Kish marked the limit of the voyages of Indian merchants trading with Persia and the West. Kish, he says, is "a considerable market, being the point to which Indian merchants and those of the island bring their commodities; while the traders of Mesopotamia, Yemen and Persia import all sorts of silk and purple cloths, flax, cotton, hemp, mash (a kind of pea), wheat, barley, millet, rye and all sorts of comestibles and pulse, which articles form objects of exchange; those from India import great quantities of spices, and the inhabitants of the island live by what they gain in their capacity of brokers to both parties. The island contains about five hundred Jews."

KISH

Benjamin states that Chulam was seventeen days by sea from Kish; Chulam may therefore be Quilon or some other port more to the north on the West coast of India. Ritter says: 'Choulam is beyond doubt the Koulam of Marco Polo and Ibn Battūta.' Of the people of this place and their government and comity, Benjamin observes:

"They are descendents of Khush, are addicted to astrology, and are all black. This nation is very trustworthy in matters of trade, and whenever foreign merchants enter their port, three secretaries of the king immediately repair on board their vessels, write down their names and report them to him. The king thereupon grants them security for their property, which they may even leave in the open fields without any guard.

QUILON ?

"One of the king's officers sits in the market, and receives goods that may have been found anywhere, and which he returns to those applicants who can minutely describe them. This custom is observed in the whole empire of the king.

"From Easter to New Year (from April to October) during the whole of the summer the heat is extreme. From the third hour of the day (nine o'clock in the morning) people shut themselves up in their houses until the evening, at which time everybody goes out. The streets and markets are lighted up and the inhabitants employ all the night upon their business, which they are prevented from doing in the day time, in consequence of the excessive heat.

"The pepper grows in this country; the trees which bear this fruit are planted in the fields, which surround the towns, and every one knows his plantation. The trees are small and the pepper is originally white, but when they collect it, they put it into basins and pour hot water upon it; it is then exposed to the heat of the sun and dried in order to make it hard and more substantial, in the course of which process it becomes of a black colour.

"Cinnamon, ginger, and many other kinds of spices also grow in this country.

"The inhabitants do not bury their dead, but embalm them with certain spices, put them upon stools and cover them with cloths, every family keeping apart. The flesh dries upon the bones, and as these corpses resemble living beings, every one of them recognises his parents and all the members of his family for many years to come."[1]

EMBALMING

—R. H. Major—*India in the fifteenth century*, pp. xlvi-xlviii. =*The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. A. Asher, i. pp. 137-40. (cf. M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, pp. 63-5).

1. Benjamin mentions further that 'these people worship the sun', and that there were among them 'only about one hundred Jews, who are of black colour', who are 'good men, observers of the law and possess Pentateuch, the Prophets and some little knowledge of the Thalmud and its decisions'. His paragraphs on the 'island of Khandy' are no good and are not reproduced; he says there were 23,000 Jews there, which is not easy to believe.

XXIII. C. 1225 A.D. CHAU JU-KUA

A. *Si-lan (Ceylon)*

Sailing from Lan-wu-li,[1] one knows that one is nearing Si-lan by continual flashing of lightning.

The king (of Si-lan) is black, his hair unkempt and his head uncovered. He wears no clothes but has a cotton cloth of different colours wrapped around him; on his feet he wears sandals of red leather, tied with golden strings. When he goes forth he rides an elephant or is carried in a litter. All day he chews a paste of betel nut and pearl ashes.

PALACE

His palace is ornamented with cat's-eyes, blue and red precious stones, cornelians and other jewels; the very floor he walks upon is so ornamented. There is an eastern and western palace, and at each there is a golden tree, the trunk and branches all of gold, the flowers, fruit and leaves of cat's-eyes, blue and red precious stones and such like jewels. At the foot of these trees are golden thrones with opaque glass screens. When the king holds his court he uses the eastern palace in the forenoon and the western in the afternoon. When (the king) is seated, the jewels flashing in the sunshine, the glass (screens) and the jewel-tree shining on each other, make it like the glory of the rising sun.

BETEL

Two attendants are always present holding a golden dish to receive the remains of the betel nut (paste) chewed by the king. The king's attendants pay a monthly fee of one *i*[2] of gold into the government treasury for the privilege of getting the betel nut (paste) remains, for it contains "plum flower", camphor and all kinds of precious substances.

The king holds in his hand a jewel five inches in diameter, which cannot be burnt by fire, and which shines in (the darkness of) night like a torch. The king rubs his face with it daily, and though he were passed ninety he would retain his youthful looks.

PEOPLE

The people of the country are very dark-skinned, they wrap a sarong round their bodies, go bare-headed and bare-footed. They use their hands in taking up their food; their household utensils are of copper.

1. In Sumatra. 2. Twenty *taels*.

There is (in this country of Si-lan) a mountain called Si-lun-tie,[3] on the top of which there is a huge imprint of a man's foot, over seven feet long, and a like imprint is visible in the water (of the sea) within a distance of over 300 *li* from the mountain. The forest trees on the mountain, little and big, all bend towards it (as if reverencing it).

The products (of Si-lan) include cat's-eyes, red transparent glass, camphor, blue and red precious stones. The products of the soil are cardamoms, *mu-lan* bark[4] and both coarse and fine perfumes. Foreign traders exchange for them sandal-wood, cloves, camphor, gold, silver, porcelain-ware, horses, elephants, and silk stuffs.

PRODUCTS

This country sends a yearly tribute to San-fo-ts'i.[5]

—Chau Ju-kua : (ed. Hirth and Rockhill) I. 13, pp. 72-73.

B. *Malabar*

Nan-p'i

The Nan-p'i country[6] is in the extreme south-west. From San-fo-ts'i one may reach it with the monsoon in a little more than a month.

The capital of the kingdom is styled Mié-a-mo, which has the same meaning as the Chinese expression *li-ssi*.[7]

The ruler of the country has his body draped, but goes bare-footed. He wears a turban and a loin-cloth, both of white cotton cloth. Sometimes he wears a white cotton shirt with narrow sleeves. When going out he rides an elephant, and wears a golden hat ornamented with pearls and gems. On his arm is fastened a band of gold, and around his leg is a golden chain.

RULER

3. I.e., Serendib. Our author is, so far as is known, the only Chinese who has used this name to designate Adam's Peak (Hirth and Rockhill). It is more commonly employed by mediaeval Arab writers, cf. Ibn Battûta, *post.*

4. *Marudamaram* in Tamil according to Hirth and Rockhill, citing Tennent's *Ceylon*, i. p. 99 ; Pelliot, however, considers it a kind of cinnamon. TP. xiii, p. 468.

5. This is a doubtful statement. Possibly 'tribute' is used in the Chinese

6. Or more correctly 'the country of the Nan-p'i', or Nairs of Malabar. —Hirth and Rockhill.

7. This statement has not been satisfactorily explained.

Among his regalia is a standard of peacock feathers on a staff of vermilion colour; over twenty men guard it round. He is attended by a guard of some five hundred picked foreign women, chosen for their fine physique. Those in front lead the way with dancing, their bodies draped, bare-footed and with a cotton loin-cloth. Those behind ride horses bareback; they have a loin-cloth, their hair is done up and they wear necklaces of pearls and anklets of gold, their bodies are perfumed with camphor and musk and other drugs, and umbrellas of peacock feathers shield them from the sun.

WOMEN GUARDS

In front of the dancing-women are carried the officers of the king's train, seated in litters of white foreign cotton, and which are called *pu-tai-kiau*[8] and are borne on poles plated with gold and silver.

In this kingdom there is much sandy soil, so, when the king goes forth, they first send an officer with an hundred soldiers and more to sprinkle the ground so that the gusts of wind may not whirl up the dust.

The people are very dainty in their diet; they have a hundred ways of cooking their food, which varies every day.

There is an officer called *Han-lin* who lays the viands and drinks before the king, and sees how much food he eats, regulating his diet so that he may not exceed the proper measure. Should the king fall sick through excess of eating, then (this officer) must taste his faeces and treat him according as he finds them sweet or bitter.

The people of this country are of a dark brown complexion, the lobes of their ears reach down to their shoulders. They are skilled in archery and dexterous with the sword and lance. They love fighting and ride elephants in battle, when they also wear turbans of coloured silks.

PEOPLE

They are extremely devout Buddhists.[9]

The climate is warm; there is no cold season. Rice, hemp, beans, wheat, millet, tubers and green vegetables supply their food; they are abundant and cheap.

8. Called *mañjil*, a sort of hammock-litter.

9. A natural confusion on the part of the author between Hindu and Buddhist images and forms of worship.

They cut an alloyed silver into coins; on these they stamp an official seal. The people use these in trading. COINS

The native products include pearls, foreign cotton stuff of all colours (i.e., coloured chintzes) and *tou-lomién* (cotton cloth).[10]

There is in this country a river of brackish water, which, at a certain point where its different channels meet, becomes very broad. At this point its banks are bold cliffs in the face of which sparks (lit., stars) can constantly be seen, and these by their vital powers fructify and produce small stones like cat's-eyes, clear and translucid. They lie buried in holes in (these) hills until some day they are washed out by the rush of a flood, when the officials send men in little boats to pick them up. They are prized by the natives.

The following states are dependencies of this country (of Nan-p'i).

Ku-lin (Quilon)	Fong-ya-lo (Mangalore)
Hu-ch'a-la (Gujerat)	Ma-li-mio (Malabar ?)
Kan-pa-i (Cambay)	Tu-nu-ho (Tāna ?)
Pi-li-sha (Bharoach ?)	A-li-jo (Eli)
Ma-lo-hua (Malwa)	Au-lo-lo-li (Cannanore ?)

This country (of Nan-p'i ?) is very far away and foreign vessels rarely visit it. Shi-lo-pa-chi-li-kan,[11] father and son, belong to this race of people; they are now living in the southern suburb of the city of Ts'uan—(cho'u-fu).

Its products are taken thence to Ki-lo Ta-nung[12] and San-fo-t'si, and the following goods are exchanged in bartering for them: Ho-ch'ī silks, porcelain-ware, camphor (*chang-nau*), rhubarb, *huang-lién*, cloves, lump-camphor (*nau-tzī*), sandal-wood, cardamoms and gharu-wood.[13] TRADE

Ku-lin may be reached in five days with the monsoon from Nan-p'i. It takes a Ts'uan-chou ship over forty days to reach Lan-li (i.e., Lan-wu-li); there the winter is spent, and, the following year, a further voyage of a month will take it to this country. QUILON

10. Probably 'the buckram which looks like tissue of spider's web' of which Polo speaks.—Hirth and Rockhill.

11. Two names of Nairs here—Shi-lo-pa and Chi-li-kan (?).

12. Kwāla Terong on the Perak coast—Gerini.

13. Pepper is omitted by Chau in this list of the products of Malabar 'presumably because nearly, if not all, the pepper trade of China in his days was with the Indian archipelago.'—Hirth and Rockhill.

"The customs of the people are, on the whole, not different from those of the Nan-p'i people. The native products comprise cocoanuts and sapan-wood; for wine they use a mixture of honey with cocoanuts and the juice of a flower, which they let ferment.

"They are fond of archery; in battle they wrap their hair in silken turbans."

For the purpose of trade they use coins of gold and silver; twelve silver coins are worth one gold one. The country is warm and has no cold season. Every year ships come to this country from San-fo-ts'i, Kién-pi and Ki-t'o,[14] and the articles they trade with are the same as in Nan-p'i.

"Great numbers of Ta-shï live in this country.

Whenever they (i.e., the inhabitants) have taken a bath, they anoint their bodies with *yü-kin* (turmeric), as they like to have their bodies gilt like that of a Buddha."[15]

—Chau Ju-kua, I. 16, pp. 87-89.

C. *Hu-ch'a-la* (*Guzerat*)

The kingdom of Hu-ch'a-la[16] rules over a hundred cities and more; its (principal) city has a four-fold wall.

The inhabitants of this country are white and clean looking; both men and women wear double rings hanging down from holes in their ears; they wear close fitting clothes with a cotton sarong wrapped around them. On their heads they wear white hoods, and on their feet shoes of red leather. They are forbidden to eat flesh.

14. All in Sumatra.

15. All citations in this chapter are from the *Ling-wai-ta-ta*, which adds: "The king of the country worships Heaven. He who kills an ox forfeits his life. Chinese traders with big ships who wish to go to the country of the Arabs, must tranship at Ku-lin to smaller boats before proceeding farther. Although they may get (to their destination) in one month with a southerly wind, it may be two years before they can get back (to China)." The Text goes on to state that "the people of Ku-lin are black, they wrap their bodies in white cotton cloth, wear their beards and all their hair loose and uncovered. They wear red leather shoes, so they look when walking as if they had the painted feet of a *lo-han* . . . The king wraps his body in cotton-cloth, when he goes out he is carried in a litter (*juan-tóu*) of cotton cloth, or else he rides on an elephant."

16. This is the earliest mention in Chinese works of the name 'Guzerat'. —Hirth and Rockhill.

There are four thousand Buddhist temple buildings, in which live over twenty thousand dancing-girls who sing twice daily while offering food to the Buddha (i.e., the idols) and while offering flowers. When offering flowers they tie them in bunches with cotton thread, of which they use three hundred catties every day.

There are over four hundred war-elephants and about one hundred thousand cavalry horses. When the king goes about he rides an elephant; on his head he wears a cap. His followers ride horseback and carry swords.

The native products comprise great quantities of indigo, red kino, myrobalans and foreign cotton stuffs of every colour. Every year these goods are transported to the Ta-shï countries for sale.

—Chau Ju-kua, I. 17, p. 92.

D. *Chola Dominion*

(Coromandel Coast)

Chu-lién

"The kingdom of Chu-lién is the Southern Yin-tu of the west."[17]

To the east (its capital) is five *li* distant from the sea; to the west one comes to Western India (after) 1500 *li*; to the south one comes to Lo-lan[18] (after) 2500 *li;* to the north one comes to Tun-t'ien (after) 3000 *li.*[19]

This country had not from olden times carried on trade (with China). By water one comes to Ts'üan-cho'u after some 411,400 *li.*

"If you wish to go to this kingdom, then you must change ships at Ku-lin to go there.[20] Some say that one can go there by way of the kingdom of P'u-kan."

17. i.e., the peninsular part of India.

18. Mistake for Si-lan(?).

19. It seems just possible that we should correct the text to read "to the east one comes to Tun-sun" which is supposed to have been near the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula.—Hirth and Rockhill.

20. Chou K'ü-fei and Chau Ju-kua indicate a first route by sea *via* Quilon in S. W. India with transhipment in the last port for going to the Coromandel. The second along the Burman coast of the Bay of Bengal and without doubt also the east coast of India. The navigation in the bay was thus performed either right across its greatest width from East to West, from the Straits of Malaca to Ceylon and Quilon—or from the Strait of Sunda to Ceylon—if one

In this kingdom there is a city with a seven-fold wall, seven feet high, and extending twelve *li* from north to south and seven *li* from east to west. The different walls are one hundred paces distant from each other. Four of these walls are of brick, two of mud, and the one in the centre of wood. There are flowers, fruit trees, and other trees planted (on them ?).

The first and second walls enclose the dwellings of the people, —they are surrounded by small ditches; the third and fourth walls (surround) the dwellings of the court officers; within the fifth dwell the king's four sons; within the sixth are the Buddhist (i.e., idol) monasteries where the priests dwell; the seventh wall encloses over four hundred buildings forming the royal palace.

There are thirty-one (*sic*) *pu-lo*;[21] of these twelve are in the west, namely:

Chī-tu-ni (Chitor).
Shī-ya-lu-ni.
Lo-pa-li-pi-pa-i.
Pu-lin-pa-pu-ni (Brahmapuri).
Ku-tan-pu-lin-p'u-töng (Kāvēripaṭṇam).
Ku-li (Koil).
Po-lun-ts'ön.
Pon-t'i-kié-ti (Bundelkhand).
Yen-li-ch'ī-li.
Na-pu-ni (Nagpur).
Chö-ku-lin.
Ya-li-chö-lin (Elichpur).

Eight are in the south, namely:

Wu-ya-kia-li-ma-lan.
Meī-ku-li-k'u-ti (Motupalle).
Shö-li-ni (Jaliat).
Mi-to-lo-mo (Madura).

followed the reverse of the route from the countries of the West to China;— or starting from the Strait of Malaca, along the coasts of Burma and of India adjoining the Bay of Bengal. It is no doubt this last route that is alluded to by the passage from *Ling Wai ta ta* textually reproduced by the *Chu-fan-chi* (Chau Ju-kua, p. 94).—Ferrand, JA, 11: 14, pp. 48-49.

21. *pura* (Skt.). The following list seems quite original with Chau Ju-kua. "There is nothing to show where one name ends and another begins in the list." The conjectural identifications that have been suggested by Hirth and Rockhill are placed in the text within brackets. "Other arrangements of the characters are possible."

K'ié-lan-p'u-töng (Kalingapatam).
Möng-k'ié-lin-kia-lan (Mangalore).
Pa-li-pa-li-yu.
Ya-lin-ch'ï-möng-k'ié-lan.

and twelve are in the north, namely:

Fa-lo-yé (Vallabhi).
Wu-mo-li-kiang.
Chu-lin.
Kia-li-möng-k'ié-lan.
Ts'i-kié-ma-lan.
Wu-chö-mong-k'ié-lan.
P'i-lin-k'ié-lan.
P'ulöng-ho-lan.
Pau-pa-lai.
Tién-chu-li.
Lu-so-lo.
Mi-möng k'ié-lan.

When any one among the people is guilty of an offense one of the Court Ministers punishes him; if the offense is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy, or up to an hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant.

STATE BANQUETS

At state banquets both the Prince and the four Court Ministers salaam at the foot of the throne, then the whole (company present) break into music, song and dancing. He (the Prince) does not drink wine, but he eats meat, and, as is the native custom, dresses in cotton clothing and eats flour-cakes. For his table and escort he employs "fully a myriad dancing-girls, three thousand of whom are in attendance daily in rotation."

MARRIAGE

When contracting marriage, they send, in the first place, a female go-between with a gold (or) silver finger-ring to the girl's home. Three days afterwards there is a meeting of the man's family to decide upon the amount of land, cotton, betel nuts, wine and the like to be given as marriage portion. The girl's family sends in return (a ?) gold or silver finger-ring, *yüé-no* cloth[22] and brocaded clothing to be worn by the bride to the (intended) son-in-law.

22. Probably a kind of very fine muslin, made in various localities of Western Asia.—Hirth and Rockhill.

Should the man wish to withdraw from the engagement, he would not dare reclaim the marriage gifts; if the girl should wish to reject the man she must pay back double.

As the taxes and imposts of the kingdom are numerous and heavy, traders rarely go there.

"The country is at war with the kingdoms of the west (of India?). The government owns sixty-thousand war-elephants, every one seven or eight feet high. When fighting these elephants carry on their backs houses, and these houses are full of soldiers who shoot arrows at long range, and fight with spears at close quarters. When victorious, the elephants are granted honorary names to signalise their merit."[23]

WAR ELEPHANTS

"The inhabitants are hot-tempered and reckless of life; nay, in the presence of the king they will fight man to man with swords and die without regret."

"Father and son, elder and younger brother, have their meals cooked in separate kettles and served in separate dishes; yet they are deeply alive to family duties."

The native products comprise pearls, elephants' tusks, coral, transparent glass, betel nuts, cardamoms, opaque glass, cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads, and cotton stuffs.

Of quadrupeds they have goats and domestic cattle; of birds, pheasants and parrots; of fruits, the *yü-kan*, the *t'ŏng-lo*, Persian dates, cocoanuts, the *kan-lo*, the *k'un-lun* plum, and the *po-lo-mi* (jack-fruit).

Of flowers, they have the white jasmine, the *san-sï*, the *shö-ts'i-sang*, the *li-ts'iu*, the blue, yellow and green *p'o-lo*, the *yau-lién-ch'an*, the red canna (?).[24]

23. Quotation from Chou K'ü-feï who continues: "and there are some who bestow upon them (the elephants) embroidered housings and golden mangers. Every day the elephants are taken into the presence of the king. The king, his officers and the people all twist their hair into a knot, and wrap (themselves) in white cotton cloth. They make coins of gold and silver. The country produces finger-rings, camphor, cat's-eyes and such like things; also pearls, elephant's tusks, amber of different colours and cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads."

24. Most of these flowers are indeterminded, the names seem to be foreign. —Hirth and Rockhill.

Of grain they have green and black beans, wheat and rice; the bamboo is indigenous.

In former times they did not send tribute to our court, but "in the eighth year of the *ta-chung* and *siang-fu* periods (A.D. 1015), its sovereign sent a mission with pearls and like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said they wished to evince the respect of a distant nation for (Chinese) civilization." They were ordered by Imperial Decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and to be entertained at a banquet by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with envoys of K'iu-tz-'ï. It happened to be the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the Sacred Enclosure.[25]

EMBASSIES

25. Ma and the Sung-shï contain information not found in the works of the two earlier writers. The Sung-shï says the principal envoy from Chu-lién was called So-li San-Wön; So-li, I take it, represents the name Chola. Concerning the voyage of the mission to China, this envoy said: "After leaving Chu-lién they had sailed for 77 days and nights, during which they passed the island (or headland) of Na-wu-tan and the island of So-li Si-lan (Ceylon of the Cholas?), and came to the country of Chan-pin (not identified, but presumably in Pegu). Thence going 61 days and nights they passed the island of I-ma-lo-li (not identified), and came to the country of Ku-lo (possibly on W. coast of Malay Peninsula or in Sumatra), in which there is a mountain called Ku-lo, from which the country takes its name.

"Proceeding again 71 days and nights and passing the island of Kia-pa (not identified), the island of Chan (or Ku)-pu-lau (or Cham pulo) and the island of Chóu-pau-lung (not identified), they came to the country of San-fo-ts'i.

"Going again for 18 days and nights and having crossed (or passed by) the mouth of the Man-shan river (in Kambhoja?) and T'ién-chu islands (Pulo Aor?), they came to the Pin-t'óu-lang headland (Cape Padaran), from whence, looking eastward, the tomb of the Si-wang mu was about 100 *li* from the ship.

"Proceeding 20 days and nights and having passed by Yang island (Pulo Gambir) and Kiu-sing island, they came to Pi-p'a island of Kuang-tung (Canton).

"From their home they had taken in all 1150 days to reach Kuang-chóu."

As previously noted, great exaggeration is met with in all that has come down to us concerning this mission. It is said by Ma-Twan-lin and the Sung-shï that the king of Chu-lién sent the Emperor of China, among other presents, 21000 ounces of pearls, 60 elephants' tusks, and 60 catties of frankincense. The envoys' gifts to the Emperor included 6600 ounces of pearls and 3300 catties of perfumes!

The ranking of the envoys of Chu-lién with those from K'iu-tzï, K'ucha in Eastern Turkestan, a vassal state of China, shows the low estimate in which

"In the tenth year *si-ning* (1077) they again sent tribute of native produce. The Emperor Shün-tsung sent an officer of the Inner Department (i.e., a Chamberlain) to bid them welcome."

The remaining countries (of India), Nan-ni-hua-lo and others, are more than a hundred in number; they are all included under the term of "Western" (*lit.,* Western Heaven).

Concerning Wang-shö-ch'öng,[26] tradition says that north of Kiau-chi (Tongking), "one comes to Ta-li (Yün-nan), and west of Ta-li one comes to Wang-shö-ch'öng in less than forty days' journey."

Kia Tan in the Huang-hua-ssi (or si)-ta-ki, says that to go from An-nan to T'ién-chu, there is an overland route which one can take to get there. Yet as Ta-mo came sailing across the sea to P'an-yu (Canton), we mày fairly ask whether the sea journey is not more expeditious than the long overland one.

P'öng-k'ié-lo of the West has a capital called Ch'a-na-ki.[27] The city walls are 120 *li* in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery. They use (pieces of) white conch shells ground into shape as money. The native products include fine swords, *to'u-lo*[28] cotton stuffs and common cotton cloth.

Some say that the law of the Buddha originated in this country for Hüan-tsang, the master of the Tripiṭaka in the T'ang period, (when) he got the Buddhist Classics (to bring to China) had already reached the West.

"Nan-ni-hua-lo city[29] has a triple wall. The inhabitants morning and evening bathe and besmear their bodies with *yü-kin* (turmeric) so as to look like golden coloured images (*lit.,* Buddhas)." A large proportion of them are called P'o-lo-mön (Brahmans), as they are geunine descendants of Fo.[30]

Chu-lién was held. In 1106 the Chu-lién vassalage to San-fo-ts'i was given by the Burmese envoys as a reason for asking greater privileges at the Chinese court than they had received.—Hirth and Rockhill.

26. Magadha.

27. The name of the capital remains unidentified, and, according to Hirth and Rockhill, it is doubtful if P'ong-k'ié-lo stands for Bengal or Balhara.

28. *tūla* (Skt.), cotton

29. Perhaps in Sindh.—Hirth and Rockhill.

30. Here and in the next paragraph, this word must be taken to mean Brahmā.—Hirth and Rockhill.

"The walls of their rooms and the mats they sit on are besmeared with cow-dung, which they look upon as a clean substance. In their houses they set up altars, three feet high and which are reached by three steps, and on which daily in the morning they burn incense and offer flowers; this is called 'the offering to Fo.'"

When Arab (Ta-shï) foreigners come to this country they give them seats outside the doors and lodge them in separate houses supplied with beddings and household utensils.

When a woman is guilty of adultery she is put to death, and the officials make no enquiry about it.

The native products include the best quality of putchuck, and fine white flowered (or dotted) cotton stuffs. The people eat much butter, rice, beans and vegetables: they rarely eat fish or meat.

"A road leads to the Western Regions (Si-yü); when there are raids (on Nan-ni-hua-lo ?) by the light horsemen of the Western Regions,[31] the only resistance they offer is to lock their gates. In a few days provisions run short, and (the raiders) withdraw of their own accord."

—Chau Ju-kua, I. 19, pp. 93-98.

E. *India*

T'ién-chu

"The country of T'ién-chu is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in"; its rulers are all selected by Ta-ts'in.[32]

It is the custom of the people to plait their hair and to let it hang down, but the temples and the crown of the head are covered with a silken turban. In their dwellings they use plaster instead of tiles. They have walled cities in which the people dwell.

31. Early Moslem invaders of Sindh (?)—Hirth and Rockhill.

32. "It appears that Chau's T'ién-chu was the coast of Madras, at least so far as the first three paragraphs of this chapter are concerned; in the rest of the chapter, derived nearly entirely from the T'ung-tién and other Chinese authorities, T'ién-chu must, I think, be understood in its broader meaning of India generally.

"The manner in which the king, i.e., the head priest of the Christians, appointed by the king of Ta-ts'in, dressed his hair might be looked upon as a strange anomaly, considering his being deputed by the Syrian, or the Chaldaean patriarch. But it appears that in India the Christian clergy followed the native custom in this respect." —Hirth and Rockhill.

The king dresses in brocaded silk, and his hair is wound into a spiral knot on the crown of his head; the rest of the hair is cut short. When holding his court in the morning he sits on a *töng* skin—*töng* being the name of an animal—ornamented with representations of various objects painted in red wax; and his courtiers make obeisance to him and pray for his life. When he goes forth he rides on horseback, and his saddle and bridle are thickly set with dark gold and silver. His followers, three hundred in number, are armed with spears and swords.

COURT

His consort wears a gold embroidered scarlet dress with large sleeves. Once a year she shows herself in public, when considerable bounty is given to the poor.

"In this country there is holy-water which can still the wind and waves. The foreign traders fill opaque glass bottles with it, and when they suddenly get in a rough sea they still it by sprinkling this water on it."

It is said that "during the reign of Süan-wu of the Posterior Wei dynasty (A.D. 500-515), T'ién-chu sent envoys with a present of swift horses. It is said that their country produces lions, sables, leopards, camels, rhinoceros, elephants, tortoise-shell, gold, copper, iron, lead and tin, gold embroidered rugs, *po-tié* (muslin) and *t'a-töng* (rugs). There is a stone like talc, but of a reddish colour; when split it is as thin as a cicada's wing; when put together the pieces look like silken gauze. There is the diamond which looks like fluor-spar, but which will not melt, though exposed to the fire an hundred times." It can cut jade-stone.

PRODUCTS

There is sandal-wood and other aromatic woods, sugarcane, sugar and all kinds of fruits. They trade yearly with Ta-ts'in[33] and Fu-nan.[34] They use cowries as a medium of exchange. They are clever jugglers. They have bows and arrows, armour, spears, flying-ladders, saps, and also the contrivances called the "wooden-oxen" and the "gliding-horses"; yet they are cowards in battle. They are good astronomers and calculators of the calendar (or astrologers). They all study the Si-tan-chang-shu.[35] . . . (Note:

33. Baghdad.
34. Cambodia.
35. 'Siddhânta book of rules'—astronomy (?) —Hirth and Rockhill.

A gap of seven characters occurs here). They use the leaves of the *pei-to*[36] as paper.

In the periods *chöng-kuan* (A.D. 627-650) and *tién-sho'u* (690-692) of the T'ang (this country) sent envoys with tribute (to our Court). In the *yung-hi* period (of the Sung, A.D. 948-988) a priest by name Lohu-na[37] arrived (in Ts'üan-cho'u) by sea; he called himself a native of T'ién-chu. The foreign traders, considering that he was a foreign priest, vied with each other in presenting him gold, silks, jewels and precious stones, but the priest had no use for them himself. He bought a piece of ground and built a Buddhist shrine in the southern suburb of Ts'üan-chóu; it is the Pau-lin-yüan of the present day.

—Chau Ju-kua, ed. Hirth and Rockhill, I. 21, pp. 110-111.

36. *patra* (Skt.); in full to-lo-p'o li-ch'a pei-to (i.e.) tāla-vṛkṣa-patra. —Hirth and Rockhill.

37. Rāhula (?)

XXIV. 1279-92 A.D. EMBASSIES BETWEEN CHINA AND SOUTH INDIA

Possibly as a result of the arrival at the Mongol court in the 7th moon of 1279 of missions from Ma'bar and Annam (Chan-ch'êng) which presented the emperor with a live elephant and a rhinoceros, Yang Ting-pi, the able lieutenant of So-tu and now Commander-in-Chief in Kuang-tung with the title of *Daruga,* was appointed Imperial Commissioner in the 12th moon of the year (early part of 1280) with orders to proceed to Kulam (Quilon) to invite the ruler (Pi-na-ti)[1] to recognise Kublai as his liege lord and to send an envoy to China; this he promised to do.

In the early autumn of 1280 (8th moon) missions arrived at the Mongol court from Annam and Ma'bar bearing memorials from their rulers to the Emperor in which they styled themselves "Your servants," thus recognizing him as their liege lord. They presented as tribute valuable presents and, as in 1279, an elephant and rhinoceros.[2] This mission had been sent spontaneously by the legitimate sovereign of Ma'bar and before the arrival of Yang Ting-pi, the king being most anxious to secure, by recognition of Chinese suzerainty, the protection of the Mongols against his domestic foes who were depriving him of all his power; its leader was named Jumaluddin.

Hardly had Yang Ting-pi returned from this mission when he was ordered to proceed again to Külam and the adjacent countries. The narrative of his journey is given as follows in the *Yüan shih.*

"In the 10th moon (of the year 1280) the rank of Envoy to Külam was given to Ha-sa-erh-hai-ya and he was sent, in company with Yang Ting-pi, to summon (the other countries adjacent to Külam) to come to Court. They put to sea from Ch'üan-chou in the first moon of the 18th year, (about February, 1281) and after a voyage of three moons arrived in the island of Sêng-kia-yeh (Ceylon). Chêng-chên and the other sailors persuaded them, in view of the contrary winds and their provisions running short, to make for Ma'bar, whence Külam could be reached by a land-route which they believed existed. In the 4th moon they landed from

1. Pi-na-ti (di) may stand for an original Paṇḍi or Pāṇḍya, the name of the then reigning dynasty of Ma'bar.

2. This is evidently the mission referred to by the king of Ma'bar in the secret message he sent Yang Ting-pi in the 5th moon of 1281; he then stated that Cha-ma-li-ting (Jamaluddin) was his envoy.

their junk at the port of Hsin-tsun[3] (in Ma'bar). Ma-yin-ti, the Minister of State (Vezir) of the country, said to the Chinese Officials: "You are most welcome. Whenever our ships have been to Ch'üan-chou your officials have done their best to spare us all trouble and expense. What business has brought you here?" Yang Ting-pi and the others explained the purpose of their mission and all about the supposed route to Külam. Ma-yin-ti requested them, on the score of not fully understanding what they said, to see his Assistant (or Secretary) Pu-a-li (Abu Ali), and to him they told about the reported road and their business.

"In the 5th moon two men came stealthily to the envoys' lodgings, and keeping the people away (so that they could not be overheard) said that, in view of their evident and sincere friendliness, they begged them to convey the following message (from the legitimate king of Ma'bar) to the court of China. "I am sincerely desirous of becoming the subject of the Emperor. My envoy Cha-ma-li-ting (Jumaluddin) has been received at your court. My Great Pi-shê-ch'ih has gone to the Suan-tan ("Lord of a kingdom") and asked for a change. The Suan-tan has sequestered my gold and my silver, my lands and my property. He has laid hold of my wives and seeks to put me to death, I have only been able to escape by deceiving him. At the present moment the Suan-tan and the (or his) brothers have met, all five of them together in one place, and are deliberating about fighting with (Külam). When they heard of the coming of the Imperial envoys to raise me to the rank of a feudal prince of the Empire, they gave it out that this country is poor and lowly. This is false; all the gold, pearls and precious things of the Moslim countries come from here, and all the Moslims come here to trade. All the kingdoms (of Southern India) will show their submissiveness if Ma'bar has once done so. My envoy (Jumaluddin) bore a most submissive letter (in this sense)."[4]

PANDYAN POLITICS

Ho-sa-erh-hai-ya and Yang Ting-pi having been prevented by contrary winds from going by sea to Külam (and being detained in Ma'bar), Ho-sa-erh-hai-ya went back to the Court of China to

3. Perhaps Kāvēripaṭṭanam.

4. This important text supplements the data given by the Muhammadan historians and Marco Polo on the condition of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom towards the close of the thirteenth century. The legitimate king who sent the secret message to the Chinese envoys was, doubtless, Kulaśēkhara; and Suan-tan may stand for Sundara.

explain matters. (As a result of this), when the northerly winds had set in, in the 11th moon (of 1281), the Emperor sent a messenger ordering Yang Ting-pi to proceed alone (to Külam, by the land-route ?)

"In the 2nd moon of the 19th year (1282) he arrived in the kingdom of Külam where the king[5] and his minister Mohammed and others received the Imperial letter with the Privy Seal with deep prostrations. In the third moon he ordered his minister Chu-a-li-sha-mang-li-pa-ti to depart with present to Court. At the same time (the head of the) Yeh-li-k'o-wên,[6] Wu-tsa-erh-sa-li-ma, and Mohammed, the head of the Mussulmans, and others of the country, having heard of the coming of the Imperial envoy, all came and requested that they be allowed to send yearly presents to Court. They therefore sent a representative to be received at the audience. Likewise the Kingdom of Su-mu-ta[7] sent a man; as a result of the lord of Külam having asked of Yang Ting-pi to offer his allegiance, they all accepted the invitation."

In the 4th moon (of 1282) Yang Ting-pi started on the return journey (to China). He came to the Kingdom of Na-wang[8] where he again urged its ruler Mang-ang-pi to make his submission. Then they came to the Kingdom of Su-mu-tu-la[9] where the ruler of the Kingdom, the Tu-han-pa-ti welcomed the mission. Yang Ting-pi having exposed the general purpose of his mission, the Tuan-pati[10] on the same day made him presents, called himself "feudatory", and dispatched his two ministers Hussein and Suliman to Court.

In the autumn of 1282 the envoys from Kulam, Na-wang, Su-mu-ta and Su-mu-tu-la arrived at Kublai's court. The event is noted as follows in the *Yüan shih*:

"In the 19th year *chih-yüan* (1282) in the 9th moon, on the day of *hsing-yu*, and as a result of the mission of Yang

5. Pi-na-ti.

6. This term, in Mongol times, always designated Christians; here St. Thomas Christians. Duarte Barbosa says that the church of St. Thomas in Kulam 'was endowed by the king of Coulam with the revenue from the pepper, which remains to it to this day.'

7. Mangalore or some place not far from it—Rockhill.

8. This place and its ruler, not easily identified, must have been in South India or Ceylon.

9. In Sumatra.

10. Malay for 'Lord Ruler'—Yule *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 296.

Ting-pi, for the establishment of friendly relations with the barbarians outside of the sea (of China), they arrived at Court bearing tribute. The ruler of Kü-lan sent a mission with a memorial, and presented valuable articles and one black ape. The lord of Na-wang, Mang-ang, there being no persons acquainted with the art of writing in his country, sent four persons but did not present a memorial. The ruler of Su-mu-tu-la, the Tu-han-pa-ti, likewise sent two men.

"As to Su-mu-ta the Prime Minister Na-li-pa-ho-la-nan-ch'ih, being (absent) in Kü-lan on business, requested instead his lord Ta-ku-erh to send an envoy with a memorial. He brought to court the signet ring (of the king ?), brocaded silks and twenty brocaded coverlets. Wu-tsa-erh-p'ieh-li-ma,[11] the chief of the Yeh-li-k'o-wen (Thomas Christians) resident in the kingdom of Kü-lan, sent also a messenger with a memorial who presented a gorget set with different kinds of jewels, and two flacons of drugs. Furthermore Mohammed, the head official of the Mussulmans, also sent a messenger and a memorial."

BUDDHA RELICS

In 1282, possibly after the return of Yang Ting-pi to China, another officer, the Uigur-I-hei-mi shih who already in 1272 and 1275 had carried out successfully missions beyond the sea, and who at the time was assisting So-tu, then Resident in Chan-ch'êng, in establishing Chinese suzerainty over that country, was detached from that duty by order of the Emperor and sent beyond the sea to Seng-kia-la (Ceylon) to examine the Buddha's almsbowl and body relics (*śārīra*). He made the journey but without accomplishing the object for which he was sent which was to secure this priceless relic for the Emperor, for in 1287 he was again sent on a mission for the same purpose, as we shall see later on.[12]

Yang Ting-pi was not at the end of his travelling; a few months after his return (in the 1st moon of the 20th year *chih-yüan*, January-February 1283) he was made Imperial Commissioner, honoured with imperial gifts of a bow and arrows, a saddle and bridle, and sent on a new mission to Külam and other states. He was also entrusted with a golden badge for Wa-ni,[13] king of

11. Contra sa-li ma for p'ieh-li-ma, (ante).
12. Cf. Marco Polo, ii. 319.
13. A title. We hear of a tiger-badge and the title of *Fu-ma* being conferred on Wa-ni of Kulam in 1344.

Kulam, on whom the Emperor conferred the title of Fuma or "Imperial Son-in-Law."

As a result of the missions of Yang Ting-pi and of the friendly reception given the foreign envoys to Court in 1282, missions from the states of Southern India and the islands of the Archipelago became during the next few years more numerous. In the 5th moon of 1283 Seng-tso-yu-pan, an envoy of the king of Ma'bar, arrived at Court, and in the first moon of 1284 there came another who presented the Emperor with pearls, rare jewels and light silks.

In the latter part of the same year, and in compliance with the commands brought them by an official named Pa-ko-lu-ssu sent by the Governor of Fu-kien, ministers of the four states of Nan-wu-li, Pieh-li-la, Li-lun, and Ta-li,[14] brought letters from their sovereigns and articles of tribute.

KUBLAI'S AIMS

The stories told by the missions from India, Indo-China, and the islands of the Archipelago, of the rare and precious products of their native lands, of the wondrous skill of their magicians and physicians, must have incited Kublai, ever desirous of adding to the magnificence of his Court and to the treasures from every land which he already possessed, to send mission after mission to these distant parts to learn more of them and to bring him of their strange birds and beasts, their jewels and their learned men. In the summer of 1285 we read that he despatched a certain Ma-su-hu, and A-li to Ma'bar 'to look for rare and precious things,' supplying them with a large sum of money for that purpose.

In 1282 the Uigur I-hei-mi-shih had been unable to bring from Ceylon the almsbowl of the Buddha and the *śārīra* which Kublai had sent him there to procure. In 1287 the Emperor ordered the same officer to 'proceed to Ma'bar to get these holy relics'.[15] The envoy started, probably with returning missions from Ma'bar and Sumatra which had been in China since the latter part of 1286.[16] The voyage was a rough one, contrary winds so delayed

14. The first name here is Lambri (N.W. coast of Sumatra), and the second Beligamme, about 13 miles from Galle in Ceylon. The rest are unidentified.

15. 'Possibly to get the support of the Malabars under whose dominion part of Ceylon then was'—Rockhill.

16. In the first moon of 1286 this mission from Ma'bar presented to the emperor a bronze shield.

him that he was a year making the journey. Nor did he find the almsbowl or the relics he was sent to procure. He brought back, however, a skilled physician and most excellent drugs, and a number of people from Ma'bar who fetched presents to the Emperor, while he himself offered him red sandal-wood and building materials he had bought in India with his private funds. The mission appears to have been received in audience in the 3rd moon of 1288. As a reward for his services abroad, the Emperor raised him to the rank of Minister of State and made him Governor-General of Fu-kien.[17]

The largest mission which had yet visited the Mongol court from the countries of the South was that which arrived in 1286. It had in it representatives of ten states, all of them members of the reigning families. Of it we read that "in the 9th moon of the 23rd year *chih-yüan* (1286) on the day *yi-ch'ou* being the first day of the moon, Ma-pa-erh,[18] Hsü-mên-na,[19] Sêng-ki-li,[20] Nan-wu-li,[21] Ma-lan-tan,[22] Na-wang,[23] Ting-ko-erh, Lai-lai, Ki-lan-i-tai and Sa-mu-tu-la,[24] ten kingdoms in all, each of which had sent either a son or a younger brother of its ruler with a letter to the Emperor, were received in audience and presented articles of tribute."

Three months later (1st moon 24th year) an envoy from Külam, Pu-liu-wên-nai by name, and others were received in audience and in the 3rd moon the envoy from Ma'bar (presumably the same who had arrived in the autumn of the preceding year, but this is not quite clear) presented the Emperor with a strange animal like a mule, but mottled black and white; it was called an *a-t'a-pi*.

In 1288 a mission is said to have arrived at Court from Ma'bar, and in 1289 we read of Ma'bar presenting the Emperor with two zebras, and in the 8th moon of 1290 another envoy came to Court

17. Ibn Battûta, speaking of the footprint on Adam's peak says "The people of China came here formerly and have cut out of the stone the impress of the big toe and the adjacent parts and have deposited these fragments in a temple in the city of Zeitun (Ch'üan-chou) where people go from the most distant provinces of China." Can I-hei-mi-shih have been responsible for this act of vandalism?—Rockhill, cf. p. 275 *post*.

18. Ma'bar.

19. Mangalore or some place near it.

20. Cranganore or Kâyankulam.

21. Lambri in Sumatra.

22. Manifattan, port on the Coromandel coast.

23. Nellore (?) See *n.* 8 *ante*.

24. Sumatra on the island of Sumatra.

from the same country and presented the Emperor with two piebald oxen,[25] a buffalo and a *t'u-piao*.

In the same year 1290 (in the 4th moon) Sang-ki-la-shih and others were sent by Kublai to Ma'bar to search for clever jugglers: or, according to Gaubil, "for persons learned in sciences, for skilled workmen, soldiers and sailors, and interpreters for diverse languages."

Again the following year the Emperor sent people to Külam and to Ma'bar, but we learn nothing of the purpose of the mission.

LAST MISSIONS

In 1292 I-hei-mi-shih, the former envoy to Ceylon and Ma'bar, was appointed one of the generals in command of the punitive expedition against the state of Ko-lang in north-eastern Java. On arriving with his fleet in Chang-ch'êng (Annam), he despatched two officers, Ho Ch'êng and Liu Yüan, on a friendly mission to the little states of Nan-wu-li (Lambri), Su-mu-tu-la (Sumatra, Pu-lu-pu-tu and Pa-la-la; all of them sent missions to the Mongol Court.

Subsequent to these missions official intercourse with Ma'bar, Sumatra, and adjacent countries seems to have become of rare occurrence. In 1296 we hear of a mission under Yo-lo-yeḥ-nu being sent to Ma'bar, and in the following year T'a-hsi of Ma'bar was sent abroad and told to procure drugs, but we have to come down to 1314 to find mention of a mission from Ma'bar arriving at the Mongol court. In that year we hear that the king of Ma'bar Hsi-la-mu-ting[26] sent his minister Ai-ssu-ting with presents to Court.

After this, thirty years appear to have elapsed before another mission was sent to Southern India, for it is only in the year 1344 that mention is made of an envoy being sent to Kulam, when, as in 1283, he carried the king, or *Wa-ni*, a tiger-badge and the title of imperial son-in-law or *fu-ma*. With this official relations between the government of China and the peoples of southern India, Ceylon, and Sumatra seem to have come to an end, though commercial relations continued uninterruptedly and were of considerable importance—though of much less volume and value than in the earlier days of the dynasty.

—Rockhill—*T'oung Pao*, xv, pp. 430-444.

25. These and the zebras, as also the buffalo, must have come from Africa. China knew the ordinary buffalo at this time. *T'u-piao* is perhaps a lynx. —Rockhill.

26. Nizamuddin, grandson of Jamaluddin—Yule JRAS. N.S. iv. 348.

XXV. C. 1293 A.D.—MARCO POLO

A. *Concerning the island of Seilan (Ceylon)*

When you leave the island of Angamanain[1] and sail about a thousand miles in a direction a little south of west, you come to the island of Seilan, which is in good sooth the best island of its size in the world. You must know that it has a compass of 2,400 miles, but in old times it was greater still, for it then had a circuit of about 3600 miles, as you find in the charts of the mariners of those seas. But the north wind there blows with such strength that it has caused the sea to submerge a large part of the Island; and that is the reason why it is not so big now as it used to be. For you must know that, on the side where the north wind strikes, the Island is very low and flat, insomuch that in approaching on board ship from the high seas you do not see the land till you are right upon it.[2] Now I will tell you all about this island.

They have a king there whom they call Sendemain,[3] and are tributary to nobody. The people are Idolaters, and go quite naked except that they cover the middle. They have no wheat but have rice, and sesamum of which they make their oil. They live on flesh and milk, and have tree-wine such as I have told you of. And they have brazil-wood, much the best in the world.

PRECIOUS STONES

Now I will quit these particulars, and tell you of the most precious article that exists in the world. You must know that rubies are found in this island and in no other country in the world but this. They find there also sapphires and topazes and amethysts, and many other stones of price. And the king of this island possesses a ruby which is the finest and biggest in the world; I will tell you what it is like. It is about a palm in length, and as thick as a man's arm; to look at, it is the most resplendent object upon earth; it is quite free from flaw and as red as fire. Its value is so great that a price for it in money could hardly be

1. The Andamans.
2. The real circuit is under 700 miles—Yule.
3. This name is difficult to explain. Is it a corruption of Chandramas, 'moon', and an indication that Polo heard that the kings of Ceylon were descendants of the moon?

named at all. You must know that the Great Kaan sent an embassy and begged the King as a favour greatly desired by him to sell him this ruby, offering to give for it the ransom of a city, or in fact what the King would. But the king replied that on no account whatever would he sell it, for it had come to him from his ancestors.[4]

ARMY

The people of Seilan are no soldiers, but poor cowardly creatures. And when they have need of soldiers they get Saracen troops from foreign parts.

The History of Sagamoni Borcan and the beginning of Idolatry.

ADAM'S PEAK

Furthermore you must know that in the Island of Seilan there is an exceeding high mountain; it rises right up so steep and precipitous that no one could ascend it, were it not that they have taken and fixed to it several great and massive iron chains, so disposed that by help of these men are able to mount to the top. And I tell you they say that on this mountain is the sepulchre of Adam our first parent;[5] at least that is what the Saracens say. But the Idolaters say that it is the sepulchre of Sagamoni Borcan, before whose time there were no idols. They hold him to have been the best of men, a great saint in fact, according to their fashion, and the first in whose name idols were made.

SAGAMONI BORCAN (THE BUDDHA)

He was the son, as their story goes, of a great and wealthy king. And he was of such an holy temper that he would never listen to any worldly talk, nor would he consent to be king. And when the father saw that his son would not be king, nor yet take any part in affairs, he took it sorely to heart. And first he tried to tempt him with great promises, offering to crown him king, and to surrender all authority into his hands. The son, however, would none of his offers; so the father was in great trouble, and all the more that he had no other son but him, to whom he might bequeath the kingdom at his own death. So, after taking thought on the matter, the King caused a great palace to be built, and placed his son therein, and caused him to be waited on there by a number of maidens, the most beautiful that could anywhere

4. Cf. Ibn Battūta's account of the ruby bowl of Arya Cakravarti, a Tamil chief of Ceylon.

5. Other travellers speak of the Foot of Adam.

be found. And he ordered them to divert themselves with the prince, night and day, and to sing and dance before him, so as to draw his heart towards worldly enjoyments. But 'twas all of no avail, for none of those maidens could ever tempt the king's son to any wantonness, and he only abode the firmer in his chastity, leading a most holy life, after their manner thereof. And I assure you he was so staid a youth that he had never gone out of the palace, and thus he had never seen a dead man, nor any one who was not hale and sound; for the father never allowed any man that was aged or infirm to come into his presence. It came to pass however one day that the young gentleman took a ride, and by the roadside he beheld a dead man. The sight dismayed him greatly, as he never had seen such a sight before. Incontinently he demanded of those who were with him what thing that was? and then they told him it was a dead man. "How, then," quoth the king's son, "do all men die?" "Yea, forsooth," said they. Whereupon the young gentleman said never a word, but rode on right pensively. And after he had ridden a good way he fell in with a very aged man who could no longer walk, and had not a tooth in his head, having lost all because of his great age. And when the king's son beheld this old man he asked what that might mean, and wherefore the man could not walk? Those who were with him replied that it was through old age the man could walk no longer, and had lost all his teeth. And so when the king's son had thus learned about the dead man and about the aged man, he turned back to his palace and said to himself that he would abide no longer in this evil world, but would go in search of Him Who dieth not, and Who had created him.

So what did he one night but take his departure from the palace privily, and betake himself to certain lofty and pathless mountains. And there he did abide, leading a life of great hardship and sanctity, and keeping great abstinence, just as if he had been a Christian. Indeed, as he had but been so, he would have been a great saint of Our Lord Jesus Christ, so good and pure was the life he led. And when he died they found his body and brought it to his father. And when the father saw dead before him that son whom he loved better than himself, he was near going distraught with sorrow. And he caused an image in the similitude of his son to be wrought in gold and precious stones, and caused all his people to adore it. And they all declared him to be a god; and so they still say.

They tell moreover that he had died fourscore and four times. The first time he died as a man, and came to life again as an ox;

JATAKA TALES

and then he died as an ox and came to life again as a horse, and so on until he had died four-score and four times; and every time he became some kind of animal. But when he died the eighty-fourth time they say he became a god. And they do hold him for the greatest of all their gods. And they tell that the aforesaid image of him was the first idol that the Idolaters ever had; and from that have originated all the other idols. And this befel in the Island of Seilan in India.[6]

The Idolaters come thither on pilgrimage from very long distances and with great devotion, just as Christians go to the shrine of Messer Saint James in Gallicia. And they maintain that the monument on the mountain is that of the king's son, according to the story I have been telling you; and that the teeth, and the hair, and the dish that are there were those of the same king's son, whose name was Sagamoni Borcan, or Sagamoni the Saint. But the Saracens also come thither on pilgrimage in great numbers, and *they* say that it is the sepulchre of Adam our first father, and the teeth, and the hair, and the dish were those of Adam.[7]

6. Marco Polo "is, of course, wrong in placing the scene of the history (of Sakya muni) in Ceylon, though probably it was so told him, as the vulgar in all Buddhist countries do seem to localise the legends in regions known to them." —Yule.

7. 'Adam's Peak has for ages been a place of pilgrimage to Buddhists, Hindus, and Mahomedans, and appears still to be so.'—Yule. cf. The following account of Ceylon by Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar :—

Among remarkable islands, in all the sea there is none like the Island of Serendib, also called Sehilan (Ceylon). It is an hundred *parasangs* long, and the circumference is three hundred *parasangs*. There they fish pearls of fine water, but little; big pearls, when they happen upon them, are of inferior quality. And there is a mountain, called Hasin, a mountain of jargoon and diamonds. And there it was, so they say, that Adam stepped down, and you can view his footprint, which is seventy cubits long. The inhabitants are they who declare that this is Adam's footprint, and that the blessed patriarch set one foot on that spot and the other in the sea. In the same island is found a red earth, which is the *senadidj*, used for polishing rock-crystal and glass. Its trees yield excellent cinnamon bark, the famous Singalese cinnamon. The grass is red, and employed in dyeing stuffs and cotton thread; it makes a better dye than that of *baqqam*, saffron, safflower, or any other kind of red dye. And the island bears many another remarkable plant, which it would take too long to catalogue. They aver that the Island of Serendib contains some hundred thousand townships.

—*The Marvels of India*, pp. 154-5.

Whose they were in truth, God knoweth ; howbeit, according to the Holy Scripture of our Church, the sepulchre of Adam is not in that part of the world.

EMBASSY FROM KUBLAI KHAN

Now it befel that the Great Kaan heard how on that mountain there was the sepulchre of our first father Adam, and that some of his hair and of his teeth, and the dish from which he used to eat, were still preserved there. So he thought he would get hold of them somehow or another, and despatched a great embassy for the purpose, in the year of Christ, 1284. The ambassadors, with a great company, travelled on by sea and by land until they arrived at the island of Seilan, and presented themselves before the king. And they were so urgent with him that they succeeded in getting two of the grinder teeth, which were passing great and thick ; and they also got some of the hair and the dish from which that personage used to eat, which is of a very beautiful green porphyry. And when the Great Kaan's ambassadors had attained the object for which they had come they were greatly rejoiced, and returned to their lord. And when they drew near to the great city of Cambaluc, where the Great Kaan was staying, they sent him word that they had brought back that for which he had sent them. On learning this the Great Kaan was passing glad, and ordered all the ecclesiastics and others to go forth to meet these reliques, which he was led to believe were those of Adam.

And why should I make a long story of it ? In sooth, the whole population of Cambaluc went forth to meet those reliques, and the ecclesiastics took them over and carried them to the Great Kaan, who received them with great joy and reverence. And they find it written in their Scriptures that the virtue of that dish is such that if food for one man be put therein it shall become enough for five men ; and the Great Kaan averred that he had proved the thing and found that it was really true.

So now you have heard how the Great Kaan came by those reliques ; and a mighty treasure it did cost him ! The reliques being, according to the Idolaters, those of that king's son.

—*Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule & Cordier, Bk. iii. chh. xiv-xv.

B. *Concerning the great Province of Maabar, which is called India the Greater, and is on the mainland.*

When you leave the Island of Seilan and sail westward about 60 miles, you come to the great province of Maabar which is styled

India the Greater;[8] it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland.

You must know that in this province there are five kings, who are own brothers. I will tell you about each in turn. The Province is the finest and noblest in the world.

THE PANDYAS

At this end of the Province reigns one of those five Royal Brothers, who is a crowned King, and his name is SONDER BANDI DAVAR. In his kingdom they find very fine and great pearls; and I will tell you how they are got.

PEARL-FISHING

You must know that the sea here forms a gulf between the Island of Seilan and the mainland. And all round this gulf the water has a depth of no more than 10 or 12 fathoms, and in some places no more than two fathoms. The pearl-fishers take their vessels, great and small, and proceed into this gulf, where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May. They go first to a place called BETTELAR,[9] and (then) go 60 miles into the gulf. Here they cast anchor and shift from their large vessels into small boats. You must know that the many merchants who go divide into various companies, and each of these must engage

8. Abulfeda names Cape Comorin as the point where Malabar ended and Maabar began. Marco's account of Maabar can be usefully compared with Wassaf's slightly later account:

"Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam to Nilawar (Nellore), nearly three hundred parasangs along the sea-coast, and in the language of that country the king is called Dewar, which signifies the Lord of Empire. The curiosities of Chin and Machin, and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from 'Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind.

"A few years since the Dewar was Sundar Pandi, who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country. The eminent prince, the margrave (*marzban*) of Hind, Takiu-d din 'Abdur Rahman, son of Muhammad-ut-Tibi, whose virtues and accomplishments have for a long time been the theme of praise and admiration among the chief inhabitants of that beautiful country, was the Dewar's deputy, minister, and adviser, and was a man of sound judgment. Fitan, Mali Fitan and Kabil were made over to his possession, for he is still worthy (*kabil*) of having the Khutba read in his name, and, notwithstanding these high dignities, is not worthy of seditions (*fitna*)." (cf. Rashid-ud-din in Elliot and Dowson, i, pp. 69-70).

9. Patlam on the Ceylon coast.—Yule.

a number of men on wages, hiring them for April and half of May. Of all the produce they have first to pay the king, as his royalty, the tenth part. And they must also pay those men who charm the great fishes, to prevent them from injuring the divers whilst engaged in seeking pearls under water, one twentieth part of all that they take. These fish-charmers are termed *Abraiaman*;[10] and their charm holds good for that day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can work mischief at their will. These Abraiaman know also how to charm beasts and birds and every living thing. When the men have got into the small boats they jump into the water and dive to the bottom, which may be at a depth of from 4 to 12 fathoms, and there they remain as long as they are able. And there they find the shells that contain the pearls (and these they put into a net bag tied round the waist, and mount up to the surface with them, and then dive anew. When they can't hold their breath any longer they come up again, and after a little down they go once more, and so they go on all day). The shells are in fashion like oysters or sea-hoods. And in these shells are found pearls, great and small, of every kind, sticking in the flesh of the shell-fish.

In this manner pearls are fished in great quantities, for thence in fact come the pearls which are spread all over the world. And I can tell you the King of that State hath a very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon those pearls.

As soon as the middle of May is past, no more of those pearl-shells are found there. It is true, however, that a long way from that spot, some 300 miles distant, they are also found; but that is in September and the first half of October.

CLOTHES

You must know that in all this Province of Maabar there is never a Tailor[11] to cut a coat or stitch it, seeing that everybody goes naked! For decency only do they wear a scrap of cloth; and so 'tis with

10. 'The shark-charmers do not now seem to have any claim to be called Abraiaman or Brahmans, but they may have been so in former days. At the diamond mines of the Northern Circars Brahmans are employed in the analogous office of propitiating the tutelary genii. The shark-charmers are called in Tamil *Kaḍal-kaṭṭi*, (sea-binders) . . . It is remarkable that when Tennent wrote, not more than one authenticated accident from sharks had taken place, during the whole period of the British occupation.'—Yule. Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar (*The Marvels of India*, pp. 135-7) narrates how such a charm came to bind the crocodiles in the port of Serira permanently because its king had the head of the charmer chopped off before he could remove the spell.

11. Tailors are mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions of the Cōḷas in the eleventh century.—SII, ii, p. 302, *n.* 8.

men and women, with rich and poor, aye, and with the King himself, except what I am going to mention.

ROYAL JEWELLERY

It is a fact that the King goes as bare as the rest, only round his loins he has a piece of fine cloth, and round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones,—rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and the like, insomuch that this collar is of great value. He wears also hanging in front of his chest from the neck downwards, a fine silk thread strung with 104 large pearls and rubies of great price. The reason why he wears this cord with the 104 great pearls and rubies is (according to what they tell) that every day morning and evening, he has to say 104 prayers to his idols. Such is their religion and their custom. And thus did all the Kings his ancestors before him, and they bequeathed the string of pearls to him that he should do the like. (The prayer that they say daily consists of three words, *Pacauta! Pacauta! Pacauta!* And this they repeat 104 times).[12]

The King aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you what this king wears, between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's ransom. And 'tis no wonder; for he hath great store of such gear; and besides they are found in his kingdom. Moreover nobody is permitted to take out of the kingdom a pearl weighing more than half a *saggio*,[13] unless he manages to do it secretly. This order has been given because the King desires to reserve all such to himself; and so in fact the quantity he has is something almost incredible. Moreover several times every year he sends his proclamation through the realm that if any one who possesses a pearl or stone of great value will bring it to him, he will pay for it twice as much as it cost. Everybody is glad to do this, and thus the King gets all into his own hands, giving every man his price.

Furthermore, this king hath some five hundred wives, for whenever he hears of a beautiful damsel he takes her to wife. Indeed he

12. 'No doubt the number in the text should have been 108, which is apparently a mystic number among both Brahmans and Buddhists.' —Yule. Pacauta is usually explained as a corruption of *Bhāgavata;* perhaps Acyuta is better.

13. A Venice weight: 1/6 oz. —Ricci.

did a very sorry deed as I shall tell you. For seeing that his brother had a handsome wife, he took her by force and kept for himself. His brother, being a discreet man, took the thing quietly and made no noise about it. The King hath many children.

THE HAREM

And there are about the King a number of Barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom; they are called the King's Trusty Lieges. And you must know that when the King dies, and they put him on the fire to burn him, these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body, and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world, and that they ought also to keep him company in the other world.[14]

BODY-GUARD

When the King dies none of his children dares to touch his treasure.[15] For they say, "as our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn." And in this way it comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom.

TREASURE

14. These are the *vēḷaikkārar*, also called *Tennavan-āpattudavigaḷ* in Pāṇḍyan inscriptions, see PK. pp. 196-7. Yule cites several analogies from Malaya, Bali and elsewhere. Cf. also XIX. H. above.

15. Wassaf on the share of the king and his ministers in treasure and trade of the country is instructive:

"In the months of the year 692 H. the above-mentioned Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, died, and left behind him much wealth and treasure. It is related by Malik-ul-Islam Jamal-ud- din, that out of that treasure 7,000 oxen, laden with precious stones, and pure gold and silver, fell to the share of the brother who succeeded him. Malik-i a'zam Taki-ud din continued prime minister as before, and, in fact, ruler of that kingdom, and his glory and magnificence were raised a thousand times higher.

"Notwithstanding the immense wealth acquired by trade, he gave orders that whatever commodities and goods were imported from the remotest parts of China and Hind into Ma'bar, his agents and factors should be allowed the first selection, until which no one else was allowed to purchase. When he had selected his goods he despatched them on his own ships, or delivered them to merchants and ship owners to carry to the island of Kais. There also it was not permitted to any merchant to contract a bargain until the factors of Maliku-l Islam had selected what they required, and after that the merchants were allowed to buy whatever was suited to the wants of Ma'bar. The remnants were exported on ships and beasts of burden to the isles of the sea, and the countries of the east and west, and with the prices obtained by their sale such goods were purchased as were suitable for the

Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses; I will tell you how. HORSE-TRADE You must know that the merchants of KIS and HORMES, DOFAR and SOER and ADEN collect great number of destriers and other horses, and these they bring to the territories of this King[16] and of his four brothers, who are kings likewise as I told you. For a horse will fetch among them 500 *saggi*[17] of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver, and vast numbers are sold there every year. Indeed this King wants to buy more than 2,000 horses every year, and so do his four brothers who are kings likewise. The reason why they want so many horses every year is that by the end of the

home market; and the trade was so managed that the produce of the remotest China was consumed in the farthest west. No one has seen the like of it in the world.

Nobility arises from danger, for the interest is ten in forty;
If merchants dread risk they can derive no profit.

As the eminent dignity and great power of Malik-i a'zam Takiu-d din, and Maliku-l Islam Jamalu-d din were celebrated in most parts of Hind to even a greater extent than in Ma'bar, the rulers of distant countries have cultivated and been strengthened by their friendship, and continually kept up a correspondence with them, expressing their solicitations and desires." —Elliot and Dowson, iii. pp. 34-5.

16. Wassaf gives very interesting and important details of the horse trade in his time:

"It was a matter of agreement that Maliku-l Islam Jamalu-d din and the merchants should embark every year from the island of Kais and land at Ma'bar 1,400 horses of his own breed, and of such generous origin that, in comparison with them the most celebrated horses of antiquity, such as the Rukhs of Rustam, etc., should be as worthless as the horse of the chess-board. It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmuz, and Kulhatu. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold, on this condition, that if any horses should sustain any injury during the voyage, or should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury. It is related by authentic writers, that in the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr, 10,000 horses were annually exported from these places to Ma'bar, Kambayat,* and other ports in their neighbourhood, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dinars, which was paid out of the overflowing revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindu temples, and from the tax upon courtezans attached to them, and no charge was incurred by the public treasury." Elliot and Dowson, iii. p. 33.

17. "Appears to be intended for 500 dinars, which in the then existing relations of the precious metals in Asia would be worth just about 100 marks of silver. Wassaf's price, 220 dinars of red gold, seems very inconsistent with this, but is not so materially, for it would appear that the *dinar of red gold* (so called) was worth *two dinars*." —Yule.

year there shall not be one hundred of them remaining, for they all die off. And this arises from mismanagement, for those people do not know in the least how to treat a horse; and besides they have no farriers. The horse-merchants not only never bring any farriers with them, but also prevent any farrier from going thither, lest that should in any degree baulk the sale of horses, which brings them in every year such vast gains. They bring these horses by sea aboard ship.[18]

SELF-IMMOLATION

They have in this country the custom which I am going to relate. When a man is doomed to die for any crime, he may declare that he will put himself to death in honour of such or such an idol; and the government then grants him permission to do so. His kinsfolk and friends then set him upon a cart, and provide him with twelve knives, and proceed to conduct him all about the city, proclaiming aloud: "This valiant man is going to slay himself for the love of (such an idol)." And when they be come to the place of execution he takes a knife and sticks it through his arm, and cries: "I slay myself for the love of (such a god)!" Then he takes another knife and sticks it through his other arm, and takes a third knife and runs it into his belly, and so on until he kills himself outright. And when he is dead his kinsfolk take the body and burn it with a joyful celebration. Many of the women also, when their husbands die and are placed on the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the bodies. And such women as do this have great praise from all.

FOOD

The people are Idolaters, and many of them worship the ox, because (say they) it is a creature of such excellence. They would not eat beef for anything in the world, nor would they on any account kill an ox. But there is another class of people who are called *Govy*, and these are very glad to eat beef, though they dare not kill the animal. Howbeit if an ox dies, naturally or otherwise, then they eat him.

HABITS

And let me tell you, the people of this country have a custom of rubbing their houses all over with cow-dung. Moreover all of them, great and small, King and Barons included, do sit upon the ground only, and the reason they give is that this is the most honourable way to sit,

18. 'Rashiduddin and Wassaf have identical statements about the horse trade, and so similar to Polo's in this chapter that one almost suspects that he must have been their authority.' —Yule.

because we all spring from the Earth and to the Earth we must return; so no one can pay the Earth too much honour, and no one ought to despise it.

And about that race of *Govis*, I should tell you that nothing on earth would induce them to enter the place where Messer St. Thomas is—I mean where his body lies, which is in a certain city of the province of Maabar. Indeed, were even 20 or 30 men to lay hold of one of these *Govis* and to try to hold him in the place where the Body of the Blessed Apostle of Jesus Christ lies buried, they could not do it! Such is the influence of the Saint; for it was by people of this generation that he was slain, as you shall presently hear.

GOVIS

No wheat grows in this province, but rice only.

And another strange thing to be told is that there is no possibility of breeding horses in this country, as hath often been proved by trial. For even when a great blood-mare here has been covered by a great blood-horse, the produce is nothing but a wretched wry-legged weed, not fit to ride.[19]

HORSE-BREEDING

19. 'The ill success in breeding horses was exaggerated to impossibility, and made to extend to all India.' —Yule. Cf. Wassaf on horses in Ma'bar:

"It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink.

Who gives sugar to an owl or crow?
Or who feeds a parrot with a carcase?
A crow should be fed with a dead body,
And a parrot with candy and sugar.
Who loads jewels on the back of an ass?
Or who would approve of giving dressed almonds to a cow?

They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs, in order that they may get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons. They are equal to Burak in celerity, and are employed either in war or exercise. In a short time, the most strong, swift, fresh, and active horses become weak, slow, useless and stupid. In short they all become wretched and good for nothing. In this climate these powerful horses which fly swiftly without a whip (for whips are required for horses, especially if they are to go any distance), should they happen to cover, become exceedingly weak and altogether worn out and unfit for riding. There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually, and, consequently, the merchants of Muhammadan countries bring them to Ma'bar." —Elliot and Dowson, iii. pp. 33-4.

The people of the country go to battle all naked, with only a lance and a shield; and they are most wretched soldiers. They will kill neither beast nor bird, nor anything that hath life; and for such animal food as they eat, they make the Saracens, or others who are not of their own religion, play the butcher.

PERSONAL HABITS

It is their practice that every one, male and female, do wash the whole body twice every day; and those who do not wash are looked on much as we look on the Patarins.[20] (You must know also that in eating they use the right hand only, and would on no account touch their food with the left hand. All cleanly and becoming uses are ministered to by the right hand, whilst the left is reserved for uncleanly and disagreeable necessities, such as cleansing the secret parts of the body and the like. So also they drink only from drinking vessels, and every man hath his own; nor will any one drink from another's vessel. And when they drink they do not put the vessel to the lips, but hold it aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth. No one would on any account touch the vessel with his mouth, nor give a stranger drink with it. But if the stranger have no vessel of his own they will pour the drink into his hands and he may thus drink from his hands as from a cup.)

JUSTICE

They are very strict in executing justice upon criminals, and as strict in abstaining from wine. Indeed they have made a rule that wine-drinkers and seafaring men are never to be accepted as sureties. For they say that to be a seafaring man is all the same as to be an utter desperado, and that his testimony is good for nothing. Howbeit they look on lechery as no sin.

(They have the following rule about debts. If a debtor shall have been several times asked by his creditor for payment, and shall have put him off from day to day with promises, then if the creditor can once meet the debtor and succeed in drawing a circle round him, the latter must not pass out of this circle until he shall have satisfied the claim, or given security for its discharge. If he in any other case presume to pass the circle he is punished with death as a transgressor against right and justice. And the said Messer Marco, when in this kingdom on his return home, did himself witness a case of this. It was the King, who owed a foreign merchant a certain sum of money, and though the claim had often

20. A term applied to the 'heretics' otherwise called 'Cathari'. —Yule (i. 321).

been presented, he always put it off with promises. Now, one day when the King was riding through the city, the merchant found his opportunity, and drew a circle round both King and horse. The King, on seeing this, halted, and would ride no further; nor did he stir from the spot until the merchant was satisfied. And when the bystanders saw this they marvelled greatly, saying that the King was a most just King indeed, having thus submitted to justice.)

CLIMATE

You must know that the heat here is sometimes so great that 'tis something wonderful. And rain falls only for three months in the year, *viz.*, in June, July and August.[21] Indeed but for the rain that falls in these three months, refreshing the earth and cooling the air, the drought would be so great that no one could exist.

ASTROLOGY, OMENS

They have many experts in an art which they call Physiognomy, by which they discern a man's character and qualities at once. They also know the import of meeting with any particular bird or beast; for such omens are regarded by them more than by any people in the world. Thus if a man is going along the road and hears some one sneeze, if he deems it (say) a good token for himself he goes on, but if otherwise he stops a bit, or peradventure turns back altogether from his journey.

As soon as a child is born they write down his nativity, that is to say the day and hour, the month, and the moon's age. This custom they observe because every single thing they do is done with reference to astrology, and by advice of diviners skilled in Sorcery and Magic and Geomancy, and such like diabolical arts; and some of them are also acquainted with Astrology.

BOYS IN TRADE

(All parents who have male children, as soon as these have attained the age of 13, dismiss them from their home, and do not allow them further maintenance in the family. For they say that the boys are then of an age to get their living by trade; so off they pack them with some twenty or four-and-twenty groats, or at least with money equivalent to that. And these urchins are running about all day from pillar to post, buying and selling. At the time of the pearl-fishery they run to the beach and purchase, from the fishers or others, five or six pearls, according to their ability, and

21. This is a perplexing statement, not true of any part of the Coromandel coast; but quite true of the Western coast generally.

take these to the merchants, who are keeping indoors for fear of the sun, and say to them: "These cost me such a price; now give me what profit you please on them." So the merchant gives something over the cost price for their profit. They do in the same way with many other articles, so that they become trained to be very dexterous and keen traders. And every day they take their food to their mothers to be cooked and served, but do not eat a scrap at the expense of their fathers.)

FAUNA

In this kingdom and all over India the birds and beasts are entirely different from ours, all but one bird which is exactly like ours, and that is the Quail. But everything else is totally different. For example they have bats,—I mean those birds that fly by night and have no feathers of any kind; well, their birds of this kind are as big as a goshawk! Their goshawks again are as black as crows, a good deal bigger than ours, and very swift and sure.

Another strange thing is that they feed their horses with boiled rice and boiled meat,[22] and various other kinds of cooked food. That is the reason why all the horses die off.

DEVADASIS

They have certain abbeys in which are gods and goddesses to whom many young girls are consecrated; their fathers and mothers presenting them to that idol for which they entertain the greatest devotion. And when the (monks) of a convent desire to make a feast to their god, they send for all those consecrated damsels and make them sing and dance before the idol with great festivity. They also bring meats to feed their idol withal; that is to say, the damsels prepare dishes of meat and other good things and put the food before the idol, and leave it there a good while, and then the damsels all go to their dancing and singing and festivity for about as long as a great Baron might require to eat his dinner. By that time they say the spirit of the idols has consumed the substance of the food, so they remove the viands to be eaten by themselves with great jollity. This is performed by these damsels several times every year until they are married.

(The reason assigned for summoning the damsels to these feasts is, as the monks say, that the god is vexed and angry with the goddess, and will hold no communication with her; and they say that if peace be not established between them things will go from bad to worse, and they never will bestow their grace and benedic-

22. Cf. Wassaf in Elliot and Dowson, iii. pp. 33-4 cited above n.19.

tion. So they make those girls come in the way described, to dance and sing, all but naked, before the god and the goddess. And those people believe that the god often solaces himself with the society of the goddess.

The men of this country have their beds made of very light canework, so arranged that, when they have got in and are going to sleep, they are drawn up by cords nearly to the ceiling and fixed there for the night. This is done to get out of the way of tarantulas which give terrible bites, as well as of fleas and such vermin, and at the same time to get as much air as possible in the great heat which prevails in that region. Not that everybody does this, but only the nobles and great folks, for the others sleep on the streets.)

Now I have told you about this kingdom of the province of Maabar, and I must pass on to the other kingdoms of the same province, for I have much to tell of their peculiarities.

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii. chh. xvi-xvii.

C. *Of the place where lieth the body of St. Thomas the Apostle; and of the miracle thereof*

The body of Messer St. Thomas the Apostle lies in this province of Maabar at a certain little town having no great population; 'tis a place where few traders go, because there is very little merchandise to be got there, and it is a place not very accessible. Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage. For the Saracens also do hold the Saint in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens and a great prophet, giving him the title of *Avarian,* which is as much as to say "Holy Man." The Christians who go thither in pilgrimage take of the earth from the place where the Saint was killed, and give a portion thereof to any one who is sick of a quartan or a tertian fever; and by the power of God and of St. Thomas the sick man is incontinently cured. The earth, I should tell you, is red. A very fine miracle occurred there in the year of Christ, 1288, as I will now relate.

A certain Baron of that country, having great store of a certain kind of corn that is called *rice,* had filled up with it all the houses that belonged to the church, and stood round about it. The Christian people in charge of the church were much distressed by his having thus stuffed their houses with his rice; the pilgrims too had nowhere to lay their heads; and they often begged the pagan Baron to remove his grain, but he would do nothing of the kind. So one night the Saint himself appeared with a fork in his hand, which he set at the Baron's

MIRACLES

throat, saying: "If thou void not my houses, that my pilgrims may have room, thou shalt die an evil death," and therewithal the Saint pressed him so hard with the fork that he thought himself a dead man. And when morning came he caused all the houses to be voided of his rice, and told everybody what had befallen him at the Saint's hands. So the Christians were greatly rejoiced at this grand miracle, and rendered thanks to God and to the blessed St. Thomas. Other great miracles do often come to pass there, such as the healing of those who are sick or deformed, or the like, especially such as be Christians.

The Christians who have charge of the church have a great number of the Indian Nut trees, whereby they get their living; and they pay to one of those brother Kings six groats for each tree every month (year?).

Now, I will tell you the manner in which the Christian brethren who keep the church relate the story of the Saint's death.[23]

They tell that the Saint was in the wood outside his hermitage saying his prayers; and round about him were many peacocks, for these are more plentiful in that country than anywhere else. And one of the Idolaters of that country being of the lineage of those called *Govi* that I told you of, having gone with his bow and arrows to shoot peafowl, not seeing the Saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks; and this arrow struck the holy man in the right side, insomuch that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to the Creator. Before he came to that place where he thus died he had been in Nubia, where he converted much people to the faith of Jesus Christ.

The children that are born here are black enough, but the blacker they be the more they are thought of; wherefore from the day of their birth their parents do rub them every week with oil of sesamé, so that they become as black as devils. Moreover, they make their gods black and their devils white, and the images of their saints they do paint black all over.

They have such faith in the ox, and hold it for a thing so holy, that when they go to the wars they take of the hair of the wild-ox, whereof I have elsewhere spoken, and wear it tied to the necks of

23. This is among the earliest accounts localising the martyrdom of St. Thomas in S. India. Note that the story of his death, a manifest fabrication from the name Mayilāppūr, has nothing in common with other stories on the same subject. 'But the tradition of Thomas's preaching in India is very old, so old that it probably is, in its simple form, true.'—Yule.

their horses; or, if serving on foot, they hang this hair to their shields, or attach it to their own hair. And so this hair bears a high price, since without it nobody goes to the wars in any good heart. For they believe that any one who has it shall come scatheless out of battle.

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii. ch. xviii.

D. *Concerning the Kingdom of Mutfili (Mōṭupalli)*

When you leave Maabar and go about 1,000 miles in a northerly direction you come to the kingdom of Mutfili.[24] This was formerly under the rule of a King, and since his death, some forty years past, it has been under his Queen, a lady of much discretion, who for the great love she bore him never would marry another husband.[25] And I can assure you that during all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as ever her husband did, or better; and as she was a lover of justice, of equity, and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was Lady or Lord of theirs before. The people are Idolaters, and are tributary to nobody. They live on flesh, and rice, and milk.

DIAMOND-MINES

It is in this kingdom that diamonds are got; and I will tell you how. There are certain lofty mountains in those parts; and when the winter rains fall, which are very heavy, the waters come roaring down the mountains in great torrents. When the rains are over, and the waters from the mountains have ceased to flow, they search the beds of the torrents and find plenty of diamonds. In summer also there are plenty to be found in the mountains, but the heat of the sun is so great that it is scarcely possible to go thither, nor is there then a drop of water to be found. Moreover in those mountains great serpents are rife to a marvellous degree, besides other vermin, and this owing to the great heat. The serpents are also the most venomous in existence, insomuch that any one going to that region runs fearful peril; for many have been destroyed by these evil reptiles.

Now among these mountains there are certain great and deep valleys, to the bottom of which there is no access. Wherefore the

24. Of course Mōṭupalli (Guntur Dt.) which was a famous port town in Marco Polo's day. The Kākatīya ruler, Gaṇapati, did much to encourage foreign merchants visiting the port. —JOR. 1934, pp. 315-20.

25. The reference is to Rudrāmbā, the daughter, not wife, of Gaṇapati.

men who go in search of the diamonds take with them pieces of flesh, as lean as they can get, and these they cast into the bottom of a valley. Now there are numbers of white eagles that haunt those mountains and feed upon the serpents. When the eagles see the meat thrown down they pounce upon it and carry it up to some rocky hill-top where they begin to rend it. But there are men on the watch, and as soon as they see that the eagles have settled they raise a loud shouting to drive them away. And when the eagles are thus frightened away the men recover the pieces of meat, and find them full of diamonds which have stuck to the meat down in the bottom.[26] For the abundance of diamonds down there in the depths of the valleys is astonishing, but nobody can get down; and if one could, it would be only to be incontinently devoured by the serpents which are so rife there.

There is also another way of getting the diamonds. The people go to the nests of those white eagles, of which there are many, and in their droppings they find plenty of diamonds which the birds have swallowed in devouring the meat that was cast into the valleys. And, when the eagles themselves are taken, diamonds are found in their stomachs.

So now I have told you three different ways in which these stones are found. No other country but this kingdom of Mutfili produces them, but there they are found both abundantly and of large size. Those that are brought to our part of the world are only the refuse, as it were, of the finer and larger stones. For the flower of the diamonds and other large gems, as well as the largest pearls, are all carried to the Great Kaan and other Kings and Princes of those regions; in truth they possess all the great treasures of the world.

COTTON-MANUFACTURES

In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams,[27] and those of highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web! There is no King nor Queen in the world but might be glad to wear them. The people have also the largest sheep in the world, and great abundance of all the necessaries of life.

26. 'The story has a considerable resemblance to that which Herodotus tells of the way in which cinnamon was got by the Arabs (III. 111). No doubt the two are ramifications of the same legend.'—Yule, cf. xi *ante* pp. 84-5.

27. 'Here *buckram* is clearly applied to fine cotton stuffs . . . The fine muslins of *Masalia* are mentioned in the Periplus.'—Yule.

There is now no more to say; so I will next tell you about a province called Lar from which the Abraiaman come.

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii. ch. xix.

E. *Concerning the Province of Lar whence the Brahmins come*

Lar is a province lying towards the west when you quit the place where the Body of St. Thomas lies; and all the *Abraiaman* in the world come from that province.[28]

You must know that these Abraiaman are the best merchants in the world, and the most truthful, for they would not tell a lie for anything on earth. (If a foreign merchant who does not know the ways of the country applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they will take charge of these, and sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to bestow). They eat no flesh, and drink no wine, and live a life of great chastity, having intercourse with no women except with their wives; nor would they on any account take what belongs to another; so their law commands. And they are all distinguished by wearing a thread of cotton over one shoulder and tied under the other arm, so that it crosses the breast and the back.

They have a rich and powerful King who is eager to purchase precious stones and large pearls; and he sends these Abraiaman merchants into the kingdom of Maabar called SOLI,[29] which is the best and noblest Province of India, and where the best pearls are found, to fetch him as many of these as they can get, and he pays them double the cost price for all. So in this way he has a vast treasure of such valuables.

These Abraiaman are Idolaters; and they pay greater heed to signs and omens than any people that exists. I will mention as an example one of their customs. To every day of the week they assign an augury of this sort. Suppose that there is some purchase in hand, he who proposes to buy, when he gets up in the

28. "What is said here of the Brahmans coming from '*Lar*, a province west of St. Thomas's,' of their having a special King, etc., is all very obscure, and that I suspect through erroneous notions . . . Marsden supposes that there has been confusion between Brahmans and Banyans; and, as Guzerat or Lar was the country from which the latter chiefly came, there is much probability in this." —Yule.

29. i.e., Cōḷa-(maṇḍalam).

morning takes note of his own shadow in the sun, which he says ought to be on that day of such and such a length; and if his shadow be of the proper length for the day he completes his purchase; if not, he will on no account do so, but waits till his shadow corresponds with that prescribed. For there is a length established for the shadow for every individual day of the week; and the merchant will complete no business unless he finds his shadow of the length set down for that particular day. (Also to each day in the week they assign one unlucky hour, which they term *Choiach*.[30] For example, on Monday the hour of Half-tierce, on Tuesday that of Tierce, on Wednesday Nones, and so on.)

OMENS

Again, if one of them is in the house, and is meditating a purchase, should he see a tarantula (such as are very common in that country) on the wall, provided it advances from a quarter that he deems lucky, he will complete his purchase at once; but if it comes from a quarter that he considers unlucky he will not do so on any inducement. Moreover, if in going out, he hears any one sneeze, if it seems to him a good omen he will go on, but if the reverse he will sit down on the spot where he is, so long as he thinks that he ought to tarry before going on again. Or, if in travelling along the road he sees a swallow fly by, should its direction be lucky he will proceed, but if not he will turn back again; in fact they are worse (in these whims) than so many Patarins!

These Abraiaman are very long-lived, owing to their extreme abstinence in eating. And they never allow themselves to be let blood in any part of the body. They have capital teeth, which is owing to a certain herb they chew, which greatly improves their appearance, and is also very good for the health.

YOGIS

There is another class of people called *Chughi*,[31] who are indeed properly Abraiaman, but they form a religious order devoted to the Idols. They are extremely long-lived, every man of them living to 150 or 200 years. They eat very little, but what they do eat is good; rice and milk chiefly. And these people make use of a very strange beverage; for they make a potion of sulphur and quicksilver mixt together and this they drink twice every month. This, they say, gives them long life; and it is a potion they are used to take from their childhood.

30. A corruption of *Tyājya*—Caldwell cited by Yule.
31. Jogi.

There are certain members of this Order who lead the most ascetic life in the world, going stark naked; and these worship the Ox. Most of them have a small ox of brass or pewter or gold which they wear tied over the forehead.[32] Moreover they take cowdung and burn it, and make a powder thereof; and make an ointment of it, and daub themselves withal, doing this with as great devotion as Christians do show in using Holy Water. (Also if they meet any one who treats them well, they daub a little of this powder on the middle of his forehead).

They eat not from bowls or trenchers, but put their victuals on leaves of the Apple of Paradise and other big leaves; these, however, they use dry, never green. For they say the green leaves have a soul in them, and so it would be a sin. And they would rather die than do what they deem their Law pronounces to be sin. If any one asks how it comes that they are not ashamed to go stark naked as they do, they say, "We go naked because naked we came into the world, and we desire to have nothing about us that is of this world. Moreover, we have no sin of the flesh to be conscious of, and therefore we are not ashamed of our nakedness, any more than you are to show your hand or your face. You who are conscious of the sins of the flesh do well to have shame, and to cover your nakedness."

They would not kill an animal on any account, not even a fly, or a flea, or a louse, or anything in fact that has life; for they say these have all souls, and it would be sin to do so. They eat no vegetable in a green state, only such as are dry. And they sleep on the ground stark naked, without a scrap of clothing on them or under them, so that it is a marvel they don't all die, in place of living so long as I have told you. They fast every day in the year, and drink nought but water. And when a novice has to be received among them they keep him awhile in their convent, and make him follow their rule of life. And then, when they desire to put him to the test, they send for some of those girls who are devoted to the Idols, and make them try the continence of the novice with their blandishments. If he remains indifferent they retain him, but if he shows any emotion they expel him from their society. For they say they will have no man of loose desires among them.

32. 'The *jangams*, a Linga-worshipping sect of Southern India, wear a copper or silver *linga* either round the neck or *on the forehead*.' —Yule.

They are such cruel and perfidious Idolaters that it is very devilry! They say that they burn the bodies of the dead, because if they were not burnt worms would be bred which would eat the body; and when no more food remained for them these worms would die, and the soul belonging to that body would bear the sin and the punishment of their death. And that is why they burn their dead!

Now I have told you about a great part of the people of the great Province of Maabar and their customs; but I have still other things to tell of this same Province of Maabar, so I will speak of a city thereof which is called Cail.

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii, ch. xx.

F. *Concerning the City of Cail (Kāyal)*

Cail[33] is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashar, the eldest of the five brother Kings.[34] It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormos and from Kis and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail.

The King possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city.

This King has some 300 wives; for in those parts the man who has most wives is most thought of.

As I told you before, there are in this great province of Maabar five crowned Kings, who are all own brothers born of one father and one mother, and this king is one of them. Their mother is still living. And when they disagree and go forth to war against one another, their mother throws herself between

33. Kāyal, near the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī, on the coast of Tinnevelly district. Sulaiman Al-Mahrī (first half of the sixteenth century) notices this place as the most celebrated port of Cōḷamaṇḍalam from ancient times and as the residence of nautical authors. JA: Jul.-Sep. 1922, p. 98, *n.* 2.

34. Asher seems to stand for (Kula)-śekhara, i.e., Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara, 'who conquered all countries' —A.D. 1268-1308.

them to prevent their fighting. And should they persist in desiring to fight, she will take a knife and threaten that if they will do so she will cut off the paps that suckled them and rip open the womb that bare them, and so perish before their eyes. In this way hath she full many a time brought them to desist. But when she dies it will most assuredly happen that they will fall out and destroy one another.

(All the people of this city, as well as of the rest of India, have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called *Tembul,* to gratify a certain habit and desire they have, continually chewing it and spitting out the saliva that it excites. The Lords and gentlefolks and the King have these leaves prepared with camphor and other aromatic spices, and also mixt with quicklime. And this practice was said to be very good for the health. If any one desires to offer a gross insult to another, when he meets him he spits this leaf or its juice on his face. The other immediately runs before the King, relates the insult that has been offered him, and demands leave to fight the offender. The King supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all the people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for this the King forbids).

BETEL

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii. ch. xxi.

G. *Of the Kingdom of Coilum*

When you quit Maabar and go 500 miles towards the southwest you come to the kingdom of Coilum.[35] The people are Idolaters, but there are also some Christians and some Jews. The natives have a language of their own, and a King of their own, and are tributary to no one.

A great deal of brazil is got here which is called *brazil Coilumin* from the country which produces it; 'tis of very fine quality.[36] Good ginger also grows here, and it is known by the same name of *Coilumin* after the country. Pepper too grows in great abundance throughout this country, and I will tell you how. You must know that the pepper-trees are (not wild but) cultivated, being regularly planted and watered; and the pepper is gathered in the months of May, June, and July.

35. Modern Quilon.
36. Cf. Ibn Battûta on the route from Calicut to Quilon.

They have also abundance of very fine indigo. This is made of a certain herb which is gathered, and (after the roots have been removed) is put into great vessels upon which they pour water and then leave it till the whole of the plant is decomposed. They then put this liquid in the sun, which is tremendously hot there,[37] so that it boils and coagulates, and becomes such as we see it. (They then divide it into pieces of four ounces each, and in that form it is exported to our parts).[38] And I assure you that the heat of the sun is so great there that it is scarcely to be endured; in fact if you put an egg into one of the rivers it will be boiled, before you have had time to go any distance, by the mere heat of the sun!

INDIGO

The merchants from Manzi, and from Arabia, and from the Levant come thither with their ships and their merchandise and make great profits both by what they import and by what they export.

There are in this country many and divers beasts quite different from those of other parts of the world. Thus there are lions black all over, with no mixture of any other colour; and there are parrots of many sorts, for some are white as snow with red beak and feet, and some are red, and some are blue, forming the most charming sight in the world; there are green ones too. There are also some parrots of exceeding small size, beautiful creatures. They have also very beautiful peacocks, larger than ours, and different; and they have cocks and hens quite different from ours; and what more shall I say? In short, everything they have is different from ours, and finer and better. Neither is their fruit like ours, nor their beasts, nor their birds; and this difference all comes of the excessive heat.

FAUNA

Corn they have none but rice. So also their wine they make from (palm-) sugar; capital drink it is, and very speedily it makes a man drunk. All other necessaries of man's life they have in great plenty and cheapness. They have very good astrologers and physicians. Man and woman, they are all black, and go naked,

37. The heat is generated by fermentation, the sun having nothing to do with it.

38. "Marco's account, though grotesque in its baldness, does describe the chief features of the manufacture of indigo by fermentation . . . There is now no indigo made or exported at Quilon, but there is still some feeble export of sappanwood, ginger and pepper." —Yule.

all save a fine cloth worn about the middle. They look not on any sin of the flesh as a sin. They marry their cousins german, and a man takes his brother's wife after the brother's death; and all the people of India have this custom.

There is no more to tell you there; so we will proceed, and I will tell you of another country called Comari.

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii, ch. xxii.

H. *Of the Country called Comari*

Comari[39] is a country belonging to India, and there you can see something of the North Star, which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it you must go some 30 miles out to sea, and then you see it about a cubit above the water.

This is a very wild country, and there are beasts of all kinds there, especially monkeys of such peculiar fashion that you would take them for men! There are also *gatpauls*[40] in wonderful diversity, with bears, lions, and leopards, in abundance.

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii. ch. xxiii.

I. *Concerning the Kingdom of Eli*

Eli[41] is a kingdom towards the west, about 300 miles from Comari. The people are Idolaters and have a king, and are tributary to nobody; and have a peculiar language. We will tell you particulars about their manners and their products, and you will better understand things now because we are drawing near to places that are not so outlandish.

There is no proper harbour in the country, but there are many great rivers with good estuaries, wide and deep. Pepper and ginger grow there, and other spices in quantities. The King is rich in treasure, but not very strong in forces. The approach to his kingdom however is so strong by nature that no one can attack him, so he is afraid of nobody.

And you must know that if any ship enters their estuary and anchors there, having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say, "You were bound for somewhere else, and 'tis God has sent you hither to

39. Cape Comorin, Kanyākumārī.
40. 'Some kind of ape'—Yule, citing Spanish Dictionaries.
41. Mount D'Ely, cf. Ibn Battūta on Hīlī.

us, so we have a right to all your goods." And they think it no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over these provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it was bound, it is sure to be plundered.[42] But if a ship come bound originally to the place they receive it with all honour and give it due protection. The ships of Manzi[43] and other countries that come hither in summer lay in their cargoes in 6 or 8 days and depart as fast as possible, because there is no harbour other than the river-mouth, a mere roadstead and sandbanks, so that it is perilous to tarry there. The ships of Manzi indeed are not so much afraid of these roadsteads as others are, because they have such huge wooden anchors which hold in all weather.

There are many lions and other wild beasts here and plenty of game, both beast and bird.

—*Op. cit.* Bk. iii. ch. xxiv.

J. *Concerning the Kingdom of Melibar (Malabar)*

Melibar is a great kingdom lying towards the west. The people are Idolaters; they have a language of their own, and a king of their own, and pay tribute to nobody.

In this country you see more of the North Star, for it shows two cubits above the water. And you must know that from this kingdom of Melibar, and from another near it called Gozurat, there go forth every year more than a hundred corsair vessels on cruize. These pirates take with them their wives and children, and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of 20 or 30 of these pirate vessels together, and then they form what they call a sea cordon, that is, they drop off till there is an interval of 5 or 6 miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like an hundred miles of sea, and no merchant ship can escape them. For when any one corsair sights a vessel a signal is made by fire or smoke, and then the whole of them make for this, and seize the merchants and plunder them. After they have plundered them they let them go, saying: "Go along with you and get more gain, and that mayhap will fall to us also!" But now the merchants are aware of this, and go so well manned and

PIRACY

42. The practice is mentioned as prevailing on the east coast in the Moṭupalli inscription of Gaṇapati, A.D. 1244.

43. Southern China.

armed, and with such great ships, that they don't fear the corsairs. Still mishaps do befall them at times.[44]

PRODUCTS

There is in this kingdom a great quantity of pepper, and ginger, and cinnamon, and turbit, and of nuts of India. They also manufacture very delicate and beautiful buckrams. The ships that come from the east bring copper in ballast. They also bring hither cloths of silk and gold and sendels; also gold and silver, cloves and spikenard, and other fine spices for which there is a demand here, and exchange them for the products of these countries.

Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi. Coarse spices are exported hence both to Manzi and to the west, and that which is carried by the merchants to Aden goes on to Alexandria, but the ships that go in the latter direction are not one to ten of those that go to the eastward; a very notable fact that I have mentioned before.

Now I have told you about the kingdom of Melibar; we shall now proceed and tell you of the kingdom of Gozurat. And you must understand that in speaking of these kingdoms we note only the capitals; there are great numbers of other cities and towns of which we shall say nothing, because it would make too long a story to speak of all.

—*Travels of Marco Polo,* ed. Yule and Cordier, Bk. iii, ch. xxv.

44. "The northern part of Malabar, Canara, and the Konkan, have been nests of pirates from the time of the ancients to a very recent date . . . Ibn Battūta fell into their hands, and was stripped to his drawers."—Yule.

XXVI. C. 1292-3 A.D. JOHN OF MONTECORVINO

I, Friar John of Monte Corvino, of the order of Minor Friars, departed from Tauris, a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord 1291, and proceeded to India. And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptized in different places about one hundred persons. The companion of my journey was Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, of the order of Preachers, who died there, and was buried in the church aforesaid.

—Yule: *Cathay and the Way Thither,* Vol. iii; First letter of John of Montecorvino, page 45.

Possibility of Conversions to Christianity in India

I have seen the greater part of India and made inquiries about the rest, and can say that it would be most profitable to preach to them the faith of Christ, if the brethren would but come. But none should be sent except men of the most solid character; for those regions are very attractive, abounding in aromatic spices and precious stones. But they possess few of our fruits, and, on account of the great mildness and warmth of the climate, the people there go naked, only covering the loins. And thus the arts and crafts of our tailors and cordwainers are not needed, for they have perpetual summer and no winter. I baptized there about a hundred persons.

—*Op. cit.* Second letter of John of Montecorvino, p. 57.

To you, Friar Bartholomew of Santo Concordio[1] your brother in all things, Menentillus of Spoleto, wisheth health and wisdom in Christ!

And because I wot of the greatest curiosity that you have in regard to all science, and that, much as you do know, you would fain know everything and especially things that are new to you; and in truth that you are one whose desire is to have knowledge and information of all kinds; therefore transcribe I for you certain matters just as they have been written from India by a certain Minorite Friar (the travelling companion of Brother Nicholas of Pistoia, who died in Upper India), when on his way to the court of the Lord of all India. The bringer of the letter I have seen

1. 'A Dominican monk, a Pisan by birth' —Yule.

and spoken with, and it was in his arms that the said Brother Nicholas did die. The letter was to the effect following:

"The state of things (with regard to climate) in the Indies is such as shall now be related.

CLIMATE

"In India it is always warm, and there never is any winter; yet the heat is not extravagant. And the reason is, that there be at all times winds which temper the heat of the air. And the reason why there can be no winter is the position of the country with respect to the zodiac, as I shall now tell. This is to say, the sun when entering *Virgo,* i.e., on the 24th day of August, sends down his rays, as I have seen and in particular noted with my own eyes, quite perpendicularly, so as to cast no shadow on either side. And in like manner when he is entering *Aries,* i.e., at the end of March. And when he has gone through *Aries* he passes towards the north, and casts shadows towards the south until...... (the summer solstice) and then turns to *Virgo,* and after he has past through the sign of *Virgo* he then casts his shadow towards the north. And thus there is never so great an elongation of the sun as to admit of cold, and there are not two seasons. Or, as I have said before, there is no winter or cold season.

"As regards the length of the day and the night I have tried to determine them by such measures and indications as I could. I have observed that at the two epochs before mentioned, when the sun's rays strike perpendicularly without casting any shadow, the day is fifteen hours long, and the night nine. And when the sun is at the solstice of *Cancer,* the day is a little less than fourteen hours long, and the night is a little more than ten, perhaps by a quarter of an hour. But when the sun is in the solstice of *Capricorn,* that is to say in the month of December, the day has a length of eleven hours and the night of thirteen. For the sun's elongation is somewhat greater when it is in *Capricorn* than when it is in *Cancer.*[2]

"Moreover, the star which we call the Pole-star is there so depressed, *i.e.,* so low, that it can scarcely be seen. And methought that if I had been on a lofty point I could have seen the other Pole-star which is in the opposite quarter. I looked many a time for a sight of it, and I saw several constellations which moved round about it, from observing which I gathered that they were exceed-

2. 'I am afraid we cannot throw the blame of these extraordinary statements on anybody but Friar John himself.'—Yule.

ingly near to it. But because of the continual haze on the horizon in that quarter, caused by the heat and the winds, and because of the stars being so low, I never could satisfy myself. However India is a very extensive region, and perhaps in some places it would be seen at a greater elevation, in others at a less. I have examined the matter to the best of my ability. So much as to (the climate of) Upper India, which is called MAEBAR, in the territory of St. Thomas.

"*Concerning the state of things as to the country itself in Upper India.*—The condition of the country of India aforesaid is this. The land is well enough peopled; and there be great cities therein, but the houses are wretched, being built of sandy mud, and usually thatched with leaves of trees. Hills there are few; rivers in some places are many, in others few. Springs there are few or none; wells in plenty; and the reason is this, that water is generally to be found at the depth of two or three paces, or even less. This well water is indeed not very good to drink, for it is somewhat soft and loosens the bowels; so they generally have tanks or excavations like ponds, in which they collect the rain water, and this they drink. They keep few beasts. Horses there are none, except it be in possession of the king and great barons. Flies there be few, and fleas none at all.[3] And they have trees which produce fruit continually, so that on them you find fruit in every stage up to perfect ripeness at one time. In like manner they sow and reap at almost all seasons, and this because it is always warm and never cold. Aromatic spices are to be had good cheap, some more so and some less so, according to what spices they be. They have trees that produce sugar, and others that produce honey, and others that produce a liquor that has a smack of wine. And this the natives of those countries use for drink. And those three things are to be had at very small cost. And the pepper plant is here also. It is slender and knotty like a vine; and indeed 'tis altogether very like a vine, excepting that it is more slender, and bears transplanting.

PEPPER PLANT

"Ginger is a reed-like plant, and, like a cane-root, it can be dug and transplanted. But their canes here are more like trees, being sometimes a cubit in girth and more, with slender prickly branches round about, and small leaves.

GINGER

3. 'They must have come with the Portuguese then!' —Yule.

BERSI

"The Brazil tree is a slender, lofty and thorny tree, all red as it were, with leaves like fern. The Indian nuts are as big as melons, and in colour green like gourds. Their leaves and branches are like those of the date tree.

CINNAMON

"The cinnamon tree is of a medium bulk, not very high, and in trunk, bark, and foliage is like the laurel; indeed, altogether it resembleth the laurel greatly in appearance. Great store of it is carried forth of the island which is hard-by Maabar.[4]

"As regards men of a marvellous kind, to wit, men of a different make from the rest of us, and as regards animals of like description, and as regards the Terrestrial Paradise, much have I asked and sought, but nothing have I been able to discover.

OXEN AND COWS

"Oxen are with these people sacred animals, and they eat not their flesh for the worship they bear them. But they make use of cow's milk, and put their cattle to labour like other folk.

"The rain falleth at fixed seasons.

PEOPLE

"The state of things as regards the inhabitants of India is as follows:—The men of this region are idolaters, without moral law, or letters, or books. They have indeed an alphabet which they use to keep their accounts, and to write prayers or charms for their idols; albeit they have no paper, but write upon leaves of trees like unto palm leaves. They have no conscience of sin whatever. They have idol-houses in which they worship at almost all hours of the day; for they never join together in worship at any fixed hour, but each goes to worship when it pleases himself. And so they worship their idols in any part of these temples, either by day or by night. They frequently set forth their fasts and feasts, but they have no fixed recurring day to keep, either weekly or monthly. Their marriages take place only at one time of the year; and when the husband dies the wife cannot marry again. The sin of the flesh they count not to be sin, nor are they ashamed to say so.

"In the regions by the sea are many Saracens, and they have great influence[5] but there are few of them in the interior. There

4. Ceylon. 'One of the earliest notices of the Ceylon cinnamon trade. —Yule.

5. Elliot and Dowson, i. pp. 69-70.

are a very few Christians, and Jews, and they are of little weight. The people persecute much the Christians, and all who bear the Christian name.

"They bury not their dead but burn them, carrying them to the pile with music and singing; whilst apart from this occasion the relatives of the deceased manifest great grief and affliction like other folk.

"But India is a region of great extent, and it hath many realms and many languages. And the men thereof are civil and friendly enough, but of few words, and remind me somewhat of our peasants. They are not, strictly speaking, black, but of an olive colour, and exceedingly well formed both women and men. They go barefoot and naked, except that they wear a cloth round the loins, and boys and girls up to eight years of age wear nothing whatever, but go naked as they came from their mother's womb. They shave not the beard; many times a day they wash; bread and wine they have none. Of the fruits that we make use of they have few or none; but for their daily food they use rice and a little milk; and they eat grossly like pigs, to wit, with the whole hand or fist, and without a spoon. In fact, when at their food they do look more like pigs than men!

DRESS

"There is great security in the country. Bandits and robbers are seldom met with; but they have many exactions to pay. There are few craftsmen, for craft and craftsmen have little remuneration, and there is little room for them. They commonly use swords and daggers like ourselves; and if actually they have a battle they make short work of it, however great the forces be, for they go to battle naked, with nothing but sword and dagger. They have among them a few Saracen mercenaries, who carry bows.

"The state of things in regard to the Sea of India is this. The sea aboundeth greatly with fish; and in some parts of it they fish for pearls and precious stones. The havens are few and bad; and you must know that the sea here is the Middle Sea or Ocean. Traversing it towards the south there is no continent found but islands alone, but in that sea the islands are many, more than 12,000 in number. And many of these are inhabited and many are not.

THE SEA

"You can sail (upon that sea) between these islands and *Ormes* and (from Ormes) to those parts which are called (*Minibar*) is a distance of 2,000 miles in a direction between south

and south-east; then 300 miles between east and south-east from Minibar to Maabar, which (latter however) you enter steering to the north; and from Menabar (Maabar ?) you sail another 300 miles between north-east and north to *Siu Simmoncota.*[6] The rest I have not seen, and therefore I say nothing of it.

NAVIGATION

" The shores of the said sea in some places run out in shoals for 100 miles or more, so that ships are in danger of grounding. And they cannot make the voyage but once a year, for from the beginning of April till the end of October the winds are westerly, so that no one can sail towards the west; and again 'tis just the contrary from the month of October till March. From the middle of May till the end of October the wind blows so hard that ships which by that time have not reached the ports whither they are bound, run a desperate risk, and if they escape it is great luck. And thus in the past year there perished more than sixty ships; and this year seven ships in places in our own immediate neighbourhood, whilst of what has happened elsewhere we have no intelligence. Their ships in these parts are mighty frail and uncouth, with no iron in them, and no caulking. They are sewn like clothes with twine. And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed! Once every year therefore there is a mending of this, more or less, if they propose to go to sea. And they have a frail and flimsy rudder like the top of a table, of a cubit in width, in the middle of the stern; and when they have to tack, it is done with a vast deal of trouble; and if it is blowing in any way hard, they cannot tack at all. They have but one sail and one mast, and the sails are either of matting or of some miserable cloth. The ropes are of husk.

6. The first section of the voyage, then, I understand to be from the Persian Gulf to one of the ports of Malabar (called Minabar); the second from the said port to some city on the Gulf of Manaar; and the third from the Gulf of Manaar to some place on the Coromandel coast, at least as far north as the Church of St. Thomas, i.e., Madras. I say "some city on the Gulf of Manaar" because we shall see presently that Mabar is, with the present writer, a city, and is probably to be identified with that where Marco Polo locates his chief king of Mabar. As Polo seems to specify this as sixty miles west of Ceylon, I judge that it must have been somewhere near Ramnad. It is not Cail, because he says distinctly that Cail was subject to another of the chiefs, and Cail is a good deal more than sixty miles from any part of Ceylon.

The extreme point which our author visited, whether Siu Simmoncota or Giu Gimmoncota (for it is so read by Kunstmann), I cannot determine. It must have been *at least* as far up the coast as Madras, because he tells us in the first letter that his companion Nicholas of Pistoia was buried in the church of St. Thomas.—Yule.

"Moreover their mariners are few and far from good. Hence they run a multitude of risks, insomuch that they are wont to say, when any ship achieves her voyage safely and soundly, that 'tis by God's guidance, and man's skill hath little availed.

"This letter was written in *Maabar*, a city of the province of *Sitia*[7] in Upper India, on the 22nd day of December in the year of OUR LORD MCCX (CII OR CIII).

—Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither,* iii; No. iii Letter from Friar Menentillus, a Dominican, forwarding copy of a letter from John of Montecorvino; pp. 58-67.

7. Named by no other traveller that I know of. The island or peninsula of Ramisseram was, however, called *Sethu,* 'the bridge' —Yule.

XXVII. C. 1321-2 A.D. FRIAR ODORIC

(A) *Hormuz to Tāna*

In this country[1] men make use of a kind of vessel which they call Jase[2] which is fastened only with stitching of twine. On one of these vessels I embarked, and I could find no iron at all therein. And having thus embarked, I passed over in twenty-eight days to *Tāna*,[3] where for the faith of Christ four of our Minor Friars had suffered a glorious martyrdom. The city is excellent in position, and hath great store of bread and wine, and aboundeth in trees. This was a great place in days of old, for it was the city of King Porus, who waged so great a battle with King Alexander.[4] The people thereof are idolaters, for they worship fire, and serpents, and trees also. The land is under the dominion of the Saracens, who have taken it by force of arms, and they are now subject to the Empire of *Dili*.[5]

Here be found sundry kinds of beasts and especially black lions[6] in very great numbers, besides monkeys and baboons, and bats as big as pigeons are here. There be also rats as big as here are our dogs called *Scherpi*. And for this reason rats[7] are there caught by dogs, for the mousers or cats are of no use for that. In this country every man hath before his house a plant of twigs as thick as a pillar would be here, and this never withers as long as it gets water.[8] And many other strange things are there which it would be pretty to hear tell.

[9][The women go naked there, and when a woman is married she is set on a horse, and the husband gets on the crupper and holds a knife pointed at her throat; and they have nothing on except a

1. Hormuz. Cf. Marco Polo, i. p. 108.
2. (Pers.) Jahāz, a ship.
3. On the landward side of Salsette islands.
4. Some strange mistake here. Yule traces it to tradition connecting Alexander with the caves of Elephanta.
5. Odoric came here soon after the conquest of the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri by the Delhi Sultanate.
6. Tigers (?).
7. Big bats and rats are also mentioned by Jordanus.
8. This is generally taken to be a reference to the *Tulasi* or Basil.
9. Additional particulars 'depending on doubtful or exceptional' mss. are enclosed within brackets.

high cap on their head like a mitre, wrought with white flowers, and all the maidens of the place go singing in a row in front of them till they reach the house, and there the bride and the bridegroom are left alone, and when they get up in the morning they go naked as before.]

[In this country there are trees which give wine which they call *Loahc,* and which is very intoxicating. And here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured. And they have here very fine oxen; which have horns a good half pace in length (girth ?), and have a hump on the back like a camel. And from this city to Panche (Paroche ?) is fourteen days' journey.]

—Yule and Cordier, *Cathay,* ii, pp. 113-17.

(B) *Of the kingdom of Minibar and how pepper is got*

And now that ye may know how pepper is got, let me tell you that it groweth in a certain empire whereunto I came to land, the name whereof is Minibar,[10] and it groweth nowhere else in the world but there. And the forest in which the pepper groweth extendeth for a good eighteen days' journey, and in that forest there be two cities, the one whereof is called *Flandrina* and the other *Cyngilin.*[11] In the city of Flandrina some of the inhabitants are Jews and some are Christians; and between those two cities there is always internal war, but the result is always that the Christians beat and overcome the Jews.

Now, in this country they get the pepper in this manner. First, then, it groweth on plants which have leaves like ivy, and these are planted against tall trees as our vines are here, and bear fruit just like bunches of grapes; and this fruit is borne in such quantities that they seem like to break under it. And when the fruit is ripe it is of a green colour, and 'tis gathered just as grapes are gathered at the vintage, and then put in the sun to dry. And when it is dried it is stored in jars [and of the fresh pepper also they make a confection, of which I had to eat, and plenty of it]. And in this forest also there be rivers in which be many evil crocodiles, i.e., serpents. [And there be many other kinds of serpents in the forest, which the

10. '*Minibar* is Malabar, and seems to have been an old Arabic form of that name.' —Yule.

11. Flandrina is Pantalani, sixteen miles N. of Calicut. 'Cyngilin is a greater difficulty.'—Yule. Heyd suggests Kāyangulam, about 18 miles N. of Quilon, and this may be accepted in view of Odoric's statement that Polumbum (Quilon) was at the southern end of the pepper 'forest'.

men burn by kindling tow and straw, and so they are enabled to go safely to gather pepper.] [And here there be lions in great numbers, and a variety of beasts which are not found in our Frank countries. And here they burn the brazil-wood for fuel, and in the woods are numbers of wild peacocks.[12]]

At the extremity of that forest, towards the south, there is a certain city which is called Polumbum, in which is grown better ginger than anywhere else in the world. And the variety and abundance of wares for sale in that city is so great that it would seem past belief to many folk.

—*Op. cit.* pp. 132-137.

(C) *Of the manners of the idolaters of Polumbum (Quilon)*

[Here all the people go naked, only they wear a cloth just enough to cover their nakedness, which they tie behind.] All the people of this country worship the ox for their god [and they eat not his flesh]; for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him to work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal. And they observe the following abominable superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold or silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces, and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead; secondly, on the balls of both cheeks; and, lastly, in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be sanctified [for the day]. Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise.

They worship also another idol, which is half man and half ox. And this idol giveth responses out of its mouth, and oft-times demandeth the blood of forty virgins to be given to it. For men and women there vow their sons and their daughters to that idol, just as here they vow to place them in some religious order. And in this manner many perish.

12. 'Marignolli has a mild sneer directed probably at Odoric's talk about the pepper 'forest'; apparently the latter did not stay any time in Malabar, and he probably derived his information from harbour gossip.' —Yule.

And many other things are done by that people which it would be abomination even to write or to hear of, and many other things be there produced and grown, which it booteth little to relate. But the idolaters of this realm have one detestable custom [that I must mention]. For when any man dies, they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But if the woman have sons by her husband she may abide with them, as she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there is no law to impose the like on him ; but he, if he likes, can take another wife. It is also customary there for the women to drink wine and not the men. The women also have their foreheads shaven, whilst the men shave not the beard. And there be many other marvellous and beastly customs which 'tis just as well not to write.

—*Op. cit.*, pp. 137-140.

(D) *Concerning the kingdom of Mobar, where lieth the body of St. Thomas, and the customs of the idolaters.*

From this realm[13] 'tis a journey of ten days to another realm which is called *Mobar,*[14] and this is very great, and hath under it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle.[15] His church is filled with idols[16], and beside it are some fifteen houses of the Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics. There is likewise in this kingdom a certain wonderful idol, which all the provinces of India greatly revere. It is as big as St. Christopher is commonly represented by the painters, and it is entirely of gold, seated on a great throne, which is also of gold. And round its neck it hath a collar of gems of immense value. And the church of this idol is also of pure gold, roof (and walls) and pavement. People come to say their prayers to the idol from great distances, just as Christian folk go from far on pilgrimage to St. Peter's. And the manner of those who come is thus :—Some travel with a halter round their necks ; and some with their hands upon a board, which is tied to their necks ; others with a knife stuck in the arm,

13. Quilon.

14. 'The Coromandel region' —Yule.

15. 'As vague as Polo's is Odoric's indication of the position of the Shrine of St. Thomas.'—Cordier.

16. On this Barth observes : "It was really a Hindu temple, and seems to refer to the Mailapur sanctuary, where, from a long time, stood the temple of Mayilā Devi which, to this date, is near the Christian Cathedral"—Cordier.

which they never remove until they arrive before the idol, so that the arm is then all in a slough. And some have quite a different way of doing. For these as they start from their houses take three steps, and at the fourth they make a prostration at full length upon the ground. And then they take a thurible and incense the whole length of that prostration. And thus they do continually until they reach the idol, so that sometimes when they go through this operation it taketh a very great while before they do reach the idol. But when those who are going along in this way wish to turn aside to do anything, they make a mark there to show how far they have gone, and so they [come back upon this, and] continue until they reach the idol.

And hard by the church of this idol there is a lake, made by hand, into which the pilgrims who come thither cast gold or silver or precious stones, in honour of the idol, and towards the maintenance of the church, so that much gold and silver and many precious stones have been accumulated therein. And thus when it is desired to do any work upon the church, they make search in the lake and find all that hath been cast into it.[17]

CAR FESTIVAL

But annually on the recurrence of the day when that idol was made, the folk of the country come and take it down, and put it on a fine chariot; and then the king and queen and all the pilgrims, and the whole body of the people join together and draw it forth from the church with loud singing of songs and all kinds of music; and many maidens go before it by two and two chaunting in a marvellous manner. And many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God. And the car passes over them, and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot. And after this fashion they drag the idol to a certain customary place, and then they drag him back to where he was formerly, with singing and playing as before. And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God.[18]

17. The *Masalak-el-Absar* corroborates this story and says that Mahomed Tughlak (a few years after Odoric's visit) captured the city and caused the lake to be drained; 'and the wealth which he found accumulated in it sufficed to load two hundred elephants and several thousand oxen.' —Yule.

18. 'One might think Odoric had got to Juggernaut. But this practice was not peculiar to Orissa.' —Yule.

And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God?" And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God," he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And many other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written.

But the king of this island[19] or province is passing rich in gold and silver and precious stones. And in this island are found as great store of good pearls as in any part of the world. And so of many other things which are found in this island, which it would take too long to write.

—Yule and Cordier: *Cathay and the Way Thither,* ii. pp. 141-46.

19. The only instance of such a mistake in Odoric; others make islands of nearly all the Eastern lands. —Yule.

XXVIII. 1323-1330 A.D. FRIAR JORDANUS

A. *Scope for conversions in India*

Let me tell you that the fame of us Latins is more highly thought of among the people of India than among us Latins ourselves. Nay they are in continual expectation of the arrival of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books.[1] And moreover, they are continually praying the Lord, after their manner, to hasten this wished-for arrival of the Latins. If our lord the Pope would but establish a couple of galleys on this sea, what a gain it would be! And what damage and destruction to the Soldan of Alexandria! O, who will tell this to his holiness the Pope? For me, wayfarer that I am, 'tis out of the question. But I commit all to you, holy fathers. Fare ye well, then, holy fathers, and remember the pilgrim in your prayers. Pray for the pilgrim of Christ, all of you, that the Indian converts, black as they are, may all be made white in soul before the good Jesus, through his pitiful grace. I end my words with many a sigh, most heartily recommending myself to the prayers of all.

Dated in *Thana* of India, the city where my holy comrades were martyred, in the year of the Lord 1323,[2] in the month of January, and on the feast of the holy martyrs Fabian and Sebastian.

—Yule and Cordier, *Cathay*, iii, pp. 79-80.

B. *Concerning India the Less.*[3]

In the entrance to India the Less are (date) palms, giving a great quantity of the sweetest fruit; but further on in India they are not found.[4]

1. See also p. 204 below. The Chinese and Burmans also had such prophecies; the Mexicans had similar tales also. —Yule.
2. For details see Odoric in *Cathay*, ii. pp. 117-132 "The date (Jan. 1323) must mean, I think, our Jan. 1324."—Yule.
3. It may be gathered from what follows, that Lesser India embraces Sindh, and probably Mekran, and India along the coast as far as some point immediately north of Malabar. Greater India extends from Malabar very indefinitely to the eastward, for he makes it include Champa (Cambodia). India Tertia is the east of Africa. —Yule.
4. I believe this is substantially correct. Sindh is the only province in India that produces edible dates. A date-palm is found all over India, but the fruit is worthless. —Yule.

In this lesser India are many things worthy to be noted with wonder; for there are no springs, no rivers, no ponds; nor does it ever rain, except during three months, viz., between the middle of May and the middle of August; and (wonderful!) notwithstanding this, the soil is most kindly and fertile, and during the nine months of the year in which it does not rain, so much dew is found every day upon the ground that it is not dried up by the sun's rays till the middle of the third hour of the day.

Here be many and boundless marvels; and in this first India beginneth, as it were, another world; for the men and women be all black, and they have for covering nothing but a strip of cotton tied round the loins, and the end of it flung over the naked neck. Wheaten bread is there not eaten by the natives, although wheat they have in plenty; but rice is eaten with its seasoning, only boiled in water. And they have milk and butter and oil, which they often eat uncooked. In this India there be no horses, nor mules, nor camels, nor elephants; but only kine, with which they do all their doings that they have to do, whether it be riding, or carrying, or field labour. The asses are few in number and very small, and not much worth.[5]

The days and nights do not vary there more than by two hours at the most.

There be always fruits and flowers there, divers trees, and fruits of divers kinds; for (example) there are some trees which bear very big fruit, called *Chaqui*; and the fruit is of such size that one is enough for five persons.[6]

JACK FRUIT

There is another tree which has fruit like that just named, and it is called Bloqui, quite as big and as sweet, but not of the same species. These fruits never grow upon the twigs, for these are not able to bear their weight, but only from the main branches, and even from the trunk of the tree itself, down to the very roots.

5. He is wrong about the non-existence of horses and camels in what he calls India the Less. —Yule.

6. The name *jack,* which we give to the tree and its fruits, is one of that large class of words which are neither English nor Hindustani, but *Anglo-Indian,* and the origin of which is often very difficult to trace. Drury gives *pilavoo* as the Malayalam name, but I find that Rheede (Hortus Malabaricus, vol. iii) gives also *Tsjaka*; and Linschoten, too, says that the jack is in Malabar called *Iaca*: so here we have doubtless the original. —Yule. Rheede's *tsjaka* is clearly Mal. Cakka.

There is another tree which has fruit like a plum, but a very big one, which is called Aniba. This is a fruit so sweet and delicious as it is impossible to utter in words.[7]

There be many other fruit trees of divers kinds, which it would be tedious to describe in detail.

I will only say this much, that this India, as regards fruit and other things, is entirely different from Christendom; except, indeed, that there be lemons there, in some places, as sweet as sugar, whilst there be other lemons sour like ours. There be also pomegranates, but very poor and small. There be but few vines, and they make from them no wine, but eat the fresh grapes; albeit there are a number of other trees whose sap they collect, and it standeth in place of wine to them.

COCOANUT

First of these is a certain tree called *Nargil*; which tree every month in the year sends out a beautiful frond like (that of) a (date) palm-tree, which frond or branch produces very large fruit, as big as a man's head. There often grow on one such stem thirty of those fruits as big as I have said. And both flowers and fruits are produced at the same time beginning with the first month and going up gradually to the twelfth; so that there are flowers and fruit in eleven stages of growth to be seen together. A wonder! and a thing which cannot be well understood without being witnessed. From these branches and fruits is drawn a very sweet water. The kernel (at first) is very tender and pleasant to eat; afterwards it waxeth harder, and a milk is drawn from it as good as milk of almonds; and when the kernel waxeth harder still, an oil is made from it of great medicinal virtue. And if any one careth not to have fruit, when the fruit-bearing stem is one or two months old he maketh a cut in it, and bindeth a pot to this incision; and so the sap, which would have been converted into fruit, drops in; and it is white like milk, and sweet like must, and maketh drunk like wine,

7. *Amba* (Pers.), the Mango. Ibn Battûta writes it *'anbâ'* with an *ain*, as appears from Lee's note (p. 104), and the latter translates it "grape," which is the meaning of that word I believe in Arabic. Our author's just description of the flavour of the mango is applicable, however, only to finer stocks, and seems to show that the "Bombay mango" already existed in the thirteenth century. The mango is commonly believed in Anglo-India to produce boils, which I see was also the belief in Linschoten's day. But I agree with his commentator, that, at the time when the fruit is ripe, "by reason of the great heate and season of the yeare—many doe fall into the fore-named diseases, although they eate none of this fruite." —Yule.

so that the natives do drink it for wine; and those who wish not to drink it so, boil it down to one-third of its bulk, and then it becometh thick, like honey; and 'tis sweet, and fit for making preserves, like honey and the honeycomb. One branch gives one potful in the day and one in the night, on the average throughout the year; thus five or six pots may be found hung upon the same tree at once. With the leaves of this tree they cover their houses during the rainy season. The fruit is that which we call *nuts of India;* and from the rind of that fruit is made the twine[8] with which they stitch their boats together in those parts.

PALMYRA

There is another tree of a different species, which like that gives all the year round a white liquor pleasant to drink, which tree is called Tari.[9] There is also another, called *Belluri,*[10] giving a liquor of the same kind, but better. There be also many other trees, and wonderful ones; among which is one which sendeth forth roots from high up,[11] which gradually grow down to the ground and enter it, and then wax into trunks like the main trunk, forming as it were an arch; and by this kind of multiplication one tree will have at once as many as twenty or thirty trunks beside one another, and all connected together. 'Tis marvellous! And truly this which I have seen with mine eyes, 'tis hard to utter with my tongue. The fruit of this tree is not useful, but poisonous and deadly. There is (also) a tree harder than all, which the strongest arrows can scarcely pierce.

The trees in this India, and also in India the Greater, never shed their leaves till the new ones come.

To write about the other trees would be too long a business; and tedious beyond measure; seeing that they are many and divers, and beyond the comprehension of man.

WILD ANIMALS

But about wild beasts of the forest I say this: there be lions, leopards, ounces, and another kind something like a greyhound, having only the ears black and the whole body perfectly white, which among those people is called *Siagois.*[12] This animal, whatever it catches, never

8. The well-known coir. —Yule.
9. Tāḍi (Tel.), Palmyra.
10. '*Belluri,* I conceive to be the *Caryota urens,* which, according to Rheede (*Hortus Malabar,* i), is called by the Brahmans in Malabar *birala.*—Yule.
11. The Banyan.
12. Siya-gosh (black ear), the Persian name of the lynx.—Yule.

lets go, even to death. There is also another animal, which is called *Rhinoceros*, as big as a horse, having one horn long and twisted; but it is not the *unicorn*.

There be also venomous animals, such as many serpents, big beyond bounds, and of divers colours, black, red, white, and green, and parti-coloured; two-headed also, three-headed, and five-headed. Admirable marvels ![13]

There be also coquodriles, which are vulgarly called *Calcatix*; some of them be so big that they be bigger than the biggest horse. These animals be like lizards, and have a tail stretched over all, like unto a lizard's; and have a head like unto a swine's, and rows of teeth so powerful and horrible that no animal can escape their force, particularly in the water. This animal has, as it were, a coat of mail; and there is no sword, nor lance, nor arrow, which can anyhow hurt him, on account of the hardness of his scales. In the water, in short, there is nothing so strong, nothing so evil, as this wonderful animal. There be also many other reptiles, whose names, to speak plainly, I know not.

BIRDS

As for birds, I say plainly that they are of quite different kinds from what are found on this side of the world; except, indeed, crows and sparrows; for there be parrots and popinjays in very great numbers, so that a thousand or more may be seen in a flock. These birds, when tamed and kept in cages, speak so that you would take them for rational beings. There be also bats really and truly as big as kites. These birds fly nowhither by day, but only when the sun sets. Wonderful! By day they hang themselves up on trees by the feet, with their bodies downwards, and in the daytime they look just like big fruit on the tree.

There are also other birds, such as peacocks, quails, Indian fowls, and others, divers in kind; some white as white can be, some green as green can be, some parti-coloured, of such beauty as is past telling.

In this India, when men go to the wars, and when they act as guards to their lords, they go naked, with a round target,—a frail and paltry affair,—and holding a kind of spit in their hands; and, truly, their fighting seems like child's play.

13. Two-headed and even three-headed serpents might be suggested by the portentous appearance of a cobra with dilated hood and spectacles, especially if the spectator were (as probably would be the case) in a great fright. But for *five* heads I can make no apology.—Yule.

In this India are many and divers precious stones, among which are the best diamonds under heaven. These stones never can be dressed or shaped by any art, except what nature has given. But I omit the properties of these stones, not to be prolix.

PRECIOUS STONES

In this India are many other precious stones, endowed with excellent virtues, which may be gathered by anybody; nor is anyone hindered.

In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance, their bodies are burned: and eke their wives follow them alive to the fire, and, for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands, and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded; and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful! I have sometimes seen, for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead.

SATI

There be also other pagan-folk in this India who worship fire; they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower, and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven. These believe in two First Principles, to wit, of Evil and of Good, of Darkness and of Light, matters which at present I do not purpose to discuss.[14]

PARSIS

There be also certain others which be called *Dumbri*,[15] who eat carrion and carcases; who have absolutely no object of worship; and who have to do the drudgeries of other people, and carry loads.

In this India there is green ginger, and it grows there in great abundance.

There be also sugar-canes in quantities; carobs also, of such size and bigness that it is something stupendous. I could tell very wonderful things of this India; but I am not able to detail them for lack of time. Cassia fistula is in some parts of this India extremely abundant.

14. Is not this short and accurate statement the first account of the Parsis in India, and of their strange disposal of the dead? —Yule.

15. Domra or Dōm.

The people of this India are very clean in their feeding; true in speech, and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privileges of every man according to his degree, as they have come down from old times.

The heat there is perfectly horrible, and more intolerable to strangers than it is possible to say.

In this India there exists not, nor is found, any metal but what comes from abroad, except gold, iron, and electrum. There is no pepper there, nor any kind of spice except ginger.

RELIGIONS

In this India the greater part of the people worship idols, although a great share of the sovereignty is in the hands of the Turkish Saracens, who came forth from Multan, and conquered and usurped dominion to themselves not long since, and destroyed an infinity of idol temples, and likewise many churches, of which they made mosques for Mahomet, taking possession of their endowments and property. 'Tis grief to hear, and woe to see!

The Pagans of this India have prophecies of their own that we Latins are to subjugate the whole world.

In this India there is a scattered people, one here, another there who call themselves Christians, but are not so, nor have they baptism, nor do they know anything else about the faith. Nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ!

There, in India I speak of, I baptised and brought into the faith about three hundred souls, of whom many were idolaters and Saracens.

And let me tell you that among the idolaters a man may with safety expound the Word of the Lord; nor is any one from among the idolaters hindered from being baptized throughout all the East, whether they be Tartars, or Indians, or what not.

These idolaters sacrifice to their gods in this manner; to wit, there is one man who is priest to the idol, and he wears a long shirt, down to the ground almost, and above this a white surplice in our fashion; and he has a clerk with a shirt who goes after him, and carries a hassock, which he sets before the priest. And upon this the priest kneels, and so begins to advance from a distance, like one performing his stations; and he carries upon his bent arms a tray of two cubits (long), all full of eatables of different sorts, with lighted tapers at top; and thus praying he comes up to the altar where the

idol is, and deposits the offering before it after their manner; and he pours a libation, and places part (of the offering) in the hands of the idol, and then divides the residue, and himself eats a part of it.

They make idols after the likeness of almost all living things of the idolaters; and they have besides their god according to his likeness. It is true that over all gods they place One God, the Almighty Creator of all those. They hold also that the world has existed now xxviii thousand years.[16]

The Indians, both of this India and of the other Indies, never kill an ox, but rather honour him like a father; and some, even perhaps the majority, worship him. They will more readily spare him who has slain five men than him who has slain one ox, saying that it is no more lawful to kill an ox than to kill one's father. This is because oxen do all their services, and moreover furnish them with milk and butter, and all sorts of good things. The great lords among the idolaters, every morning when they rise, and before they go anywhither, make the fattest cows come before them, and lay their hands upon them, and then rub their own faces, believing that after this they can have no ailment.

Let this be enough about Lesser India; for were I to set forth particulars of everything down to worms and the like, a year would not suffice for the description.

But (I may say in conclusion) as for the women and men, the blacker they be, the more beautiful they be (held).

—Yule, *Friar Jordanus*: pp. 11-25.

C. *Concerning India the Greater*

Of India the Greater I say this; that it is like unto Lesser India as regards all the folk being black. The animals also are all similar, neither more nor less (in number), except elephants, which they have (in the former) in very great plenty. These animals are marvellous; for they exceed in size and bulk and strength, and also in understanding, all the animals of the world. This animal hath a big head; small eyes, smaller than a horse's; ears like the wings of owls or bats; a nose reaching quite to the ground, extending right down from the top of his head; and two tusks stand-

16. This does not agree in any way with any version of the Hindu mythical chronology that I know of. —Yule.

ing out of remarkable magnitude (both in) bulk and length, which are (in fact) teeth rooted in the upper jaw. This animal doth everything by word of command; so that his driver hath nothing to do but say once, "Do this," and he doeth it; nor doth he seem in other respects a brute, but rather a rational creature. They have very big feet, with six hoofs like those of an ox, or rather of a camel. This animal carrieth easily upon him, with a certain structure of timber, more than thirty men; and he is a most gentle beast, and trained for war, so that a single animal counteth by himself equal in war to 1,500 men and more; for they bind to his tusks blades or maces of iron wherewith he smiteth. Most horrible are the powers of this beast, and specially in war.

TRAINED ELEPHANTS

Two things there be which cannot be withstood by arms; one is the bolt of heaven; the second is a stone from an artillery engine; this is a third! For there is nothing that either can or dare stand against the assault of an elephant in any manner. A marvellous thing! He kneeleth, lieth, sitteth, goeth, and cometh, merely at his master's word. In short, it is impossible to write in words the peculiarities of this animal.

In this India there are pepper and ginger, cinnamon, brazil,[17] and all other spices.

Ginger is the root of a plant which hath leaves like a reed. Pepper is the fruit of a plant something like ivy, which climbs trees, and forms grape-like fruit like that of the wild vine. This fruit is at first green, then when it comes to maturity it becomes all black and corrugated as you see it. 'Tis thus that long pepper is produced, nor are you to believe that fire is placed under the pepper, nor that it is roasted, as some will lyingly maintain.[18]

17. Brazil. This is the sappan-wood, affording a red dye, from a species of *caesalpina* found in nearly all tropical Asia, from Malabar eastward. The name of brazil wood is now appropriated to that (derived from another species of caesalpina) which comes from Brazil, and which, according to Macculloch, gives twice as much dye from the same weight of wood. The history of the names here is worthy of note. First, brazil is the name of the Indian wood in commerce. Then the great country is called Brazil, because a somewhat similar wood is found abundantly there. And now the Indian wood is robbed of its name, which is appropriated to that found in a country of the New World, and is supposed popularly to be derived from the name of that country. I do not know the origin of the word brazil. Sappan is from the Malay name *sapang*. —Yule.

18. The Bishop's mention of "long pepper" shews confusion, probably in his amanuensis or copyist; for long pepper is the produce of a different

Cinnamon is the bark of a large tree which has fruit and flowers like cloves.

In this India be many islands, and more than 10,000 of them inhabited, as I have heard; wherein are many world's wonders. For there is one called Silem, where are found the best precious stones in the whole world, and in the greatest quantity and number, and of all kinds.

Between that island and the main are taken pearls or marguerites, in such quantity as to be quite wonderful. So indeed that there are sometimes more than 8,000 boats or vessels, for three months continuously, (engaged in this fishery). It is astounding, and almost incredible, to those who have not seen it, how many are taken.

Of birds I say this: that there be many different from those of Lesser India, and of different colours; for there be some white all over as snow; some red as scarlet of the grain; some green as grass; some parti-coloured; in such quantity and delectability as cannot be uttered. Parrots also, or popinjays, after their kind, of every possible colour except black, for black ones are never found; but white all over, and green, and red, and also of mixed colours. The birds of this India seem really like creatures of Paradise.

PARROTS

There is also told a marvellous thing of the islands aforesaid, to wit that there is one of them in which there is a water, and a certain tree in the middle of it. Every metal which is washed with that water becomes gold; every wound on which are placed the bruised leaves of that tree is incontinently healed.

genus (*Chavica*), which is *not* a vine, but a shrub, whose stems are annual. The chemical composition and properties are nearly the same as those of black pepper. Crawfurd draws attention to the fact that, by Pliny's account, *piper longum* bore between three and four times the price of black pepper in the Roman market (Drury in voc.—Crawfurd's Dict.). Though long pepper is now cultivated in Malabar, it was not so, or at least not *exported*, in the sixteenth century. Linschoten says expressly that the "long pepper groweth onely in Bengala and Java." (p. 111). Its price at Rome was probably therefore a fancy one, due to its rarity. It is curious that Pliny supposed pepper to grow in pods, and that the long pepper was the immature pod picked and prepared for the market. He corrects a popular error that ginger was the root of the pepper tree (Bk. xii). Ibn Battūta, like our Bishop, contradicts what "some have said, that they boil it in order to dry it," as without foundation. But their predecessor, R. Benjamin, says—"the pepper is originally white, but when they collect it, they put it in basins and pour hot water upon it; it is then exposed to the heat of the sun," etc.—Yule.

In this India, whilst I was at Columbum, were found two cats having wings like the wings of bats;[19] and in Lesser India there be some rats as big as foxes, and venomous exceedingly.[20]

In this India are certain trees which have leaves so big that five or six men can very well stand under the shade of one of them.[21]

In the aforesaid island of Sylen is a very potent king, who hath precious stones of every kind under heaven, in such quantity as to be almost incredible. Among these he hath two rubies, of which he weareth one hung round his neck, and the other on the hand wherewith he wipeth his lips and his beard; and (each) is of greater length than the breadth of four fingers, and when held in the hand it standeth out visibly on either side to the breadth of a finger. I do not believe that the universal world hath two stones like these, or of so great a price, of the same species.[22]

There is also another island where all the men and women go absolutely naked, and have in place of money comminuted gold like fine sand. They make of the cloth which they buy walls like curtains; nor do they cover themselves or their shame at any time in the world.

There is also another exceeding great island, which is called Jaua,[23] which is in circuit more than seven (thousand ?) miles as I have heard, and where are many world's wonders. Among which, besides the finest aromatic spices, this is one, to wit, that there be found pygmy men, of the size of a boy of three or four years old, all shaggy like a he goat. They dwell in the woods, and few are found.

In this island also are white mice, exceeding beautiful. There also are trees producing cloves, which, when they are in flower, emit an odour so pungent that they kill every man who cometh among them, unless he shut his mouth and nostrils.[24]

19. The flying squirrel found in Malabar, Ceylon and E. India. —Yule.

20. The bandicoot.

21. The Talipat or great fan-palm, the leaves of which have sometimes an area of 200 sq. ft. —Yule citing Tennent.

22. Cf. similar statements of Marco Polo and Ibn Battûta.

23. His Java vaguely represents the Archipelago generally, with some special reference to Sumatra.—Yule.

24. This seems to be a jumble of the myths about the spice-groves and the upas tree. —Yule.

There too are produced cubebs, and nutmegs, and mace, and all the other finest spices except pepper.

In a certain part of that island they delight to eat white and fat men when they can get them.[25]

In the Greater India, and in the islands, all the people, be black, and go naked from the loins upwards, and from the knee downwards, and without shoes.

But the kings have this distinction from others, that they wear upon their arms gold and silver rings, and on the neck a gold collar with a great abundance of gems.

In this India never do (even) the legitimate sons of great kings, or princes, or barons, inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters; for they say that they have no surety that those are their own sons, because wives and mistresses may conceive and generate by some one else; but 'tis not so with the sister, for whatever man may be the father they are certain that the offspring is from the womb of their sister, and is consequently thus truly of their blood.

SELF-IMMOLATION

In this Greater India many sacrifice themselves to idols in this way. When they are sick, or involved in any grave mischance, they vow themselves to the idol if they should happen to be delivered. Then, when they have recovered, they fatten themselves for one or two years continually, eating and drinking fat things, etc. And when another festival comes round, they cover themselves with flowers and perfumes, and crown themselves with white garlands, and go with singing and playing before the idol when it is carried through the land (like the image of the Virgin Mary here among us at the Rogation tides); and those men who are sacrificing themselves to the idol carry a sword with two handles, like those (knives) which are used in currying leather; and, after they have shown off a great deal, they put the sword to the back of the neck, cutting strongly with a vigorous exertion of both hands, and so cut off their own heads before the idol.[26]

In this Greater India, in the place where I was, the nights and days are almost equal, nor does one exceed the other in length at any season by so much as a full hour.

25. A reference to Batak cannibalism.

26. Cf. Vogel's paper on *The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture*—BSOS, vi. pp. 539-43, and the citations in Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 349, n. 8.

In this India the sun keeps to the south for six months continuously, casting the shadows to the north; and for the other six months keeps to the north, casting the shadow to the south.[27]

In this India the Pole-star is seen very low, insomuch that I was at one place where it did not show above the earth or the sea more than two fingers' breadth.

There the nights, when the weather is fine and there is no moon, are, if I err not, four times as clear as in our part of the world.

There also, if I err not, between evening and morning, often all the planets may be seen; there are seen their influences (as it were) eye to eye, so that 'tis a delightful thing there to look out at night!

From the place aforesaid is seen continually between the south and the east a star of great size and ruddy splendour, which is called Canopus, and which from these parts of the world is never visible.

There are many marvellous things in the cycle of those (heavenly bodies) to delight a good astronomer.

In this India, and in India the Less, men who dwell a long way from the sea, under the ground and in woody tracts, seem altogether infernal;[28] neither eating, drinking, nor clothing themselves like the others who dwell by the sea.

There serpents too be numerous, and very big, of all colours in the world; and it is a great marvel that they be seldom or never found to hurt anybody unless first attacked.

There is there also a certain kind of wasps, which make it their business to kill very big spiders whenever they find them, and afterwards to bury them in the sand, in a deep hole which they make, and so to cover them up that there is no man in the world who can turn them up, or find the place.

There is also a kind of very small ants, white as wool, which have such hard teeth that they gnaw through even timbers and the

27. As Quilon is between 8° and 9° of north latitude this is somewhat overstated.—Yule.

28. By this the bishop perhaps means only 'inferior'; but tradition often represents the aborigines under the name of *Rākṣasas* or demons.—Yule.

joints of stones, and, in short, whatever dry thing they find on the face of the earth, and mutilate woollen and cotton clothes. And they build out of the finest sand a crust like a wall, so that the sun cannot reach them, and so they remain covered. But if that crust happens to get broken, so that the sun reaches them, they incontinently die.[29] WHITE ANTS

As regards insects, there be wonders, so many, great, and marvellous, that they cannot be told.

There is also in this India a certain bird, big like a kite, having a white head and belly, but all red above, which boldly snatches fish out of the hands of fishermen and other people, and indeed (these birds) go on just like dogs.

There is also another big bird, not like a kite, which flies only at night, and utters a voice in the night season like the voice of a man wailing from the deep.

What shall I say then? Even the Devil too there speaketh to men, many a time and oft, in the night season, as I have heard.[30]

Everything indeed is a marvel in this India! Verily it is quite another world!

There is also a certain part of that India which is called Champa. There, in place of horses, mules and asses, and camels, they make use of elephants for all their work.[31]

'Tis a wonderful thing about these animals, that when they are in a wild state they challenge each other to war, and form troops (for the purpose); so that there will be sometimes a hundred against a hundred, more or less; and they put the strongest and biggest and boldest at the head, and thus attack each other in turn, so that within a short time there will remain in one place XL or L killed and wounded, more or less. And 'tis a notable thing that the vanquished, it is said, never again appear in war or in the field.

These animals, on account of their ivory, are worth as much dead as alive, nor are they ever taken when little, but only when big and full grown.

29. The white ants have apparently a great objection to working under the light of day, but that they "incontinently die" is a mistake.—Yule.

30. This is, according to Mitford, a reference to the night-hawk, rather than the brown owl as others have supposed.—Yule.

31. Information derived perhaps from his brother friar, Odoricus, who visited Champâ.—Yule.

And the mode of taking them is wonderful. Enclosures are made, very strong, and of four sides, wherein be many gateways, and raised gates, formed of very big and strong timbers. And there is one trained female elephant which is taken near the place where the elephants come to feed. The one which they desire to catch is pointed out to her, and she is told to manage so as to bring him home. She goeth about him and about him, and so contriveth by stroking him and licking him, as to induce him to follow her, and to enter along with her the outer gate, which the keepers incontinently let fall. Then, when the wild elephant turneth about, the female entereth the second gate, which is instantly shut like the first, and so the (wild) elephant remaineth caught between the two gates. Then cometh a man, clothed in black or red, with his face covered, who cruelly thrasheth him from above, and crieth out abusively against him as against a thief; and this goeth on for five or six days, without his getting anything to eat or drink. Then cometh another fellow, with his face bare, and clad in another colour, who feigneth to smite the first man, and to drive and thrust him away; then he cometh to the elephant and talketh to him, and with a long spear he scratcheth him, and he kisseth him, and giveth him food; and this goeth on for ten or fifteen days, and so by degrees he ventureth down beside him, and bindeth him to another elephant. And thus, after about twenty days, he may be taken out to be taught and broken in.[32]

CAPTURE OF ELEPHANTS

In this Greater India are twelve idolatrous kings, and more. For there is one very powerful king in the country where pepper grows, and his kingdom is called Molebar. There is also the king of Singuyli and the king of Columbum, the king of which is called Lingua, but his kingdom Mohebar. There is also the king of Molephatam, whose kingdom is called Molepoor, where pearls are taken in infinite quantities. There is also another king in the island of Sylen, where are found precious stones and good elephants. There be also three or four kings on the island of Java, where the good spices grow. There be also other kings, as the king of Telenc, who is very potent and great. The kingdom of Telenc abounds in corn, rice, sugar, wax, honey and honey-comb, pulse, eggs, goats, buffalos, beeves, milk, butter, and in oils of divers kinds and in many excellent fruits, more than any other part of

32. This is evidently drawn from the life. Compare the account of elephant taming in Burma in the *Mission to Ava in* 1855, pp. 103-5, and the authors there quoted.—Yule.

the Indies. There is also the kingdom of Maratha which is very great; and there is the king of Batigala, but he is of the Saracens. There be also many kings in Chopa.[33]

What shall I say ? The greatness of this India is beyond description. But let this much suffice concerning India the Greater and the Less.

—*The Wonders of the East* (*Mirabilia Descrepta*) by Friar Jordanus : Yule pp. 26-41.

33. This may be Champā. But it is difficult to explain satisfactorily all the loose statements in this paragraph. The number of kings, 'twelve,' is conventional.

XXIX. ABULFEDA—b.[1] 1273 A.D. d. 26TH OCT. 1331 A.D.[2]

(A) *South India*

A traveller states the following: Dīv is an island which faces Kanbāīt (Cambay) from the southern side. Its inhabitants practise piracy and live in reed huts. Their drink is rain water.

A traveller says that the country which extends from Sindāpūr to Hannaur (Honavar) towards the east leads to Malabar. Hannaur is a pretty little town with numerous orchards. All Malabar is covered with forest and with trees entangling one another, thanks to the abundance of water. From Hannaur one goes to Basarour (Barcelore), a small place; beyond it, one comes to Mañjarūr (Mangalore), one of the largest towns of Malabar. Its king is an infidel. Mañjarūr is to the East of the localities already mentioned. After a three days' journey from Mañjarūr, one comes across a big mountain which projects into the sea and is seen by sailors from a distance; it is called Ra's Hailī (promontory of Illy). At the extremity of Malabar we have Tandiyūr, a small place to the east of Ra's Hailī, and there we find many gardens. The other localities of Malabar are Schāliyāt (Jaliat) and Schinkilī. One of these places is inhabited by Jews, but the narrator has omitted to note which.[3] Kaulam is the last town of Malabar, the pepper country.

The first locality in the Coromandel from the side of Malabar is Ra's Komhorī (Cape Comorin), mountain and town. Another town of Coromandel, Manifattan, is situated on the coast. The capital of Coromandel is Biyyardāwal. It is the residence of the Sultan of Coromandel. Horses are brought to him from other countries.

—*Geographie D'Aboulfeda,* II ii. ed. M. Stanislas Guyard, pp. 115-6.

(B) *Coromandel* (*Ma'bar*)

According to Ibn Sa'id, 142° Long. and 17° 25 Lat. Third climate. Extremity of India. It has been said above that Ma'bar is the name of a region; it is hence possible that the situation indicated here refers to the capital mentioned above, Biyyardāwal.

1. Reinaud, I, p. ii.
2. Reinaud, I, p. xxvii.
3. It is Schinkili—cf. Dimashki tr. Mehren p. 234.—S. Guyard,

The Coromandel, says Ibn Sa'id, is celebrated by the reports of travellers. It is from there that they export a muslin which has passed into proverb for its fineness. To the north lie the mountains adjacent to the country of Balhara, who is one of the kings of India; to the west the river of Suliyan falls in the sea. The Coromandel is three or four days' journey to the East of Caoulem. I should add that this ought to be with an inclination towards the south.

—*Geographie D'Aboulfeda*—M. Stanislas Guyard, II, ii (1883) p. 121.

(C) 12°. *Caoulem* (*Kaulam*)

According to Ibn Sa'id, 132° of longitude and 12° latitude, according to the *Aṭwāl,* 110° longitude 13° 30′ latitude. First climate. At the extremity of the Pepper country (Malabar).

Caoulem, says Ibn Sa'id, is the last town in the Pepper country towards the east. One sets sail from this town in order to go to Aden. A traveller has told me that Caoulem is a town situated on a gulf at the very end of the Pepper country and that it includes a quarter for the Mussulmans and a Mosque. The town is built on a Sandy Plain. The orchards there are always numerous. One notices the *boqqam* tree (brazil) which looks like a pomegranate and whose leaf is like that of a Jujube tree.

—*Geographie D'Aboulféda*: M. Stanislas Guyard II ii p. 121.

XXX. 1333-45 A.D. IBN BATTŪTA

(A) *On the rebellion of Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtāsp*

On the rebellion of the son of the Sultan's paternal aunt and what relates to it:

The Sultān Tughlaq had a nephew (son of his sister) called Bahā-ud-dīn Gushtāsp (Hystaspe), who was appointed governor of a province. When his uncle died, he refused to take the oath of allegiance to his son; he was a brave soldier, a hero. The king sent against him an army commanded by powerful amīrs like Malik Majīr and the Vazīr KHwājah Jahān who was commander-in-chief. The cavalry on both sides were engaged, and the combat was fierce, both the armies exhibiting great courage. In the end the Sultan's troops prevailed, and Bahā-ud-dīn fled to one of the Hindu kings named the Rāi Kanbīlah (*raia* or *rāja*). The term 'rāi' among these people, as among Christians,[1] means 'king.' As for Kanbīlah, it is the name of the country where the 'rāja' lived. This prince possessed territories situated on inaccessible mountains, and he was one of the principal Sultans of the infidels.

When Bahā-ud-dīn fled to this king, he was pursued by the soldiers of the monarch of India who beset these countries. The infidel prince, perceiving the danger to which he was exposed as his stores of grain became exhausted and fearing that they might capture him by force, told Bahā-ud-dīn: "You see in what condition we are; I have decided to perish with my family and all those who wish to follow me. Go to the Sultan so and so (he mentioned the name of a Hindu prince) and stay with him, he will protect you." He sent some one with him to conduct him there; then he ordered a great fire to be prepared, and this was done. Then he burnt his effects, and said to his wives and daughters: "I intend to die, and those of you who wish to do as I do, may do so." Then each one of his wives bathed, anointed herself with sandal named *muqasari*, kissed the earth before the rāi of Kanbīlah and cast herself on the pyre; they all perished. The wives of the amīrs, vazīrs, and nobles of his state followed them; other women besides did likewise.

SIEGE OF KAMPILA

The king bathed in his turn, anointed himself with sandal and took his arms, but did not put on the cuirass. Those of his men

1. The author refers no doubt to Spaniards and their term *rey*.—S. & D.

who wished to die with him followed his example in every respect. They went out to fight with the troops of the Sultan and fought till all of them met their death. The town was invaded, and its inhabitants were taken captive, and eleven sons of the rāi of Kanbīlah thus captured were sent to the Sultan, and they were made Mussulmans. The sovereign made them amīrs and honoured them greatly as much for their illustrious birth as in consideration of the conduct of their father. I saw in the Sultan's palace, among these brothers, Naṣr, Bakhtiyār and *Almuhardār*, 'the Guardian of the Seal.' He keeps the ring with which is sealed the water (doubtless Ganges water) which the monarch is to drink; his surname is Abu Muslim, and we were comrades and friends.

FALL OF KAMPILA

After the death of the rāi of Kanbīlah, the troops of the Sultan marched to the infidel country where Bahā-ud-dīn had taken refuge, and surrounded it. This prince said: "I can not do like rāi Kanbīlah". He caught hold of Bahā-ud-dīn and delivered him to the army of the Emperor of India. They fettered his legs, tied his hands to his neck and conducted him thus before the Sultan. The Sultan ordered him to be taken before his wives and female relations; they insulted him and spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be flayed alive: after he had been skinned, his flesh was cooked with rice and some of it was sent to his wife and children, They put the remnants on a large plate and gave them to the elephants which declined to eat them. The Sultan ordered the skin to be stuffed with straw, and paraded in all the provinces together with the stuffed figure of Bahādūr Būrah.

CAPTURE OF GUSHTASP

—*Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, pp. 318-21, (*cf.* Elliot and Dowson, iii 614-6).

(B) *Rebellion in Ma'bar*

The rebellion of *Sharīf* Jalāl-ud-dīn in the province of Ma'bar, and the death of the Vazīr's nephew (sister's son) who joined this revolt:

The Sultan had appointed the *Sharīf* Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥasan Shah governor of the country of Ma'bar (the passage, the South-east of the peninsula), which is at a distance of six months' march from Delhi. Jalāl-ud-dīn rebelled, usurped the power, killed the lieutenants and agents of the sovereign, and struck coins of gold and silver in his own name. On one side of the *dinars* he had the following words engraved: 'the offspring of *Tā-hā* and *Yā-sīn*

(these letters which constitute the titles of the two chapters of the Quran, xx and xxxvi, are among the epithets applied usually to Muḥammad), the father of fakirs and indigents, the glory of the world and of religion;' and on the other face: 'He who puts his trust in the help of the Merciful; Aḥasan Shah Sultan.'

Hearing of this revolt, the emperor set out to suppress it. He camped in a place called Kushak-i-Zar meaning 'castle of gold'; and he spent eight days there attending to the needs of the people. It was then that they brought to him the nephew of the vazīr KHwājah Jahān, as also three or four amīrs—all with fetters on their feet and their hands tied to their necks. The Sultan had sent this vazīr with the advance guard; and he had arrived at the town of Ẓhār (Dhār); which was at a distance of twenty-four days' march from Delhi; and where he stopped some time. The son of his sister was an intrepid fellow, a brave warrior; he plotted with three other chiefs, who were caught at the same time as himself, to kill his uncle and flee to the rebel *Sharīf* in the province of Ma'bar, carrying with them all the treasures and provisions. They had decided to attack the vazīr at the moment when he came out to go for the Friday prayer; but one person who was in the know of their plans denounced them. He was called Malik Nuṣrat, the chamberlain; and he told the vazīr that the proof of their project would be found in their wearing cuirasses under their robes. The vazīr had them produced before him and found them in the condition stated; he sent them to the Sultan.

I was with the emperor, when these conspirators arrived; one of them was tall and bearded, but he trembled and read the chapter *Yā-sīn* of the Quran (xxxvi, the prayer of the dying). In accordance with the Sultan's order, the amīrs in question were thrown to the elephants which are trained to kill men, and the son of the vazīr's sister was sent to his uncle that he might kill him; and he did so.

—*Op. cit.* iii. pp. 328-30. (Elliot and Dowson, iii, p. 618).

Pestilence in the Sultan's army:

The emperor reached the country of Tiling on his way to the province of Ma'bar to put down the rebel *Sharīf*. He encamped in the town of Badrakōt, capital of Tiling, three months' march from Ma'bar. Then a pestilence broke out in his army and a great part of it perished thereby. The slaves and the mameluks died as well as the chief amīrs like Malik Daulat Shāh, whom the Sultan always called 'O! uncle,' and amīr 'Abd-ul-lah alharavy........

When the emperor saw the calamity that had befallen the troops, he returned to Daulatabad. The provinces rose, anarchy reigned in the country.

—*Op. cit.* iii, pp. 333-4. (Elliot and Dowson iii, p. 618-9.)

(BB) Rebellion in Tiling.

Of the rebellion of the Sultan's lieutenant in the country of Tiling:

When the Sultan returned from Tiling, he left behind Tāj-uḷ-Mulk Nuṣrat KHān, an old courtier, as his lieutenant in this country. Hearing the (false) news of the death of the sovereign, he had his obsequies celebrated, usurped the power and received oaths of allegiance from the people in his capital, Badrakōt.[1a] When the Sultan came to know of these things, he sent his preceptor, Quṭlu KHān, at the head of a numerous army. A terrible combat ensued in which whole multitudes perished; finally Quṭlu KHān invested his adversary in the capital; Badrakōt was fortified; but the siege did much damage to its inhabitants, and Quṭlu KHān began to open a breach. Then Nuṣrat KHān surrendered himself with a safe conduct into the hands of the enemy commandant who assured him of his life and sent him to the Sultan. He also pardoned the citizens and the troops.

—*Op. cit.* iii pp. 340-41.

(C) i. *Summary of Ibn Battūta's travel in S. India: Yule.*

From KANAUJ Ibn Battūta and his companions turned southwards to the fortress of GWALIOR, which Ibn Battūta had visited previously, and had then taken occasion to describe with fair accuracy. At PARWAN, a place which they passed through on leaving Gwalior, and which was much harassed by lions (probably tigers rather), the traveller heard that certain malignant Jogis were in the habit of assuming the form of those animals by night. This gives him an opportunity of speaking of others of the Jogi class who used to allow themselves to be buried for months, or even for a twelvemonth together, and afterwards revived. At Mangalore he afterwards made acquaintance with a Mussulman who had acquired this art from the Jogis. The route continued through Bundelkhand and Malwa to the city of DAULATABAD, with

1a. Telugu—Beḍadakōṭ, Bidar.

its celebrated fortress of DWAIGIR (Deogiri), and thence down the Valley of the Tapti to KINBAIAT (Cambay).

From Cambay they went to *Kawe,* a place on a tidal gulf belonging to the Pagan Raja Jalansi, and thence to KANDAHAR, a considerable city on another estuary, and belonging to the same prince, who professed loyalty to Delhi, and treated them hospitably. Here they took ship, three vessels being provided for them. After two days they stopped to water at the Isle of BAIRAM, four miles from the main. This island had been formerly peopled, but it remained abandoned by the natives since its capture by the Mahomedans, though one of the king's officers had made an attempt to resettle it, putting in a small garrison and mounting mangonels for its defence. Next day they were at KUKAH, a great city with extensive bazaars, anchoring four miles from the shore on account of the vast recession of the tide. This city belonged to another pagan king, Dunkul, not too loyal to the Sultan. Three days' sail from this brought the party abreast of the Island of SINDABUR, but they passed on and anchored under a smaller island near the mainland, in which there was a temple, a grove, and a piece of water. Landing here, the traveller had a curious adventure with a Jogi, whom he found by the wall of the temple. Next day they came to HUNAWUR (or Onore), a city governed by a Mahomedan prince with great power at sea; apparently a pirate, like his successors in later times, but an enlightened ruler, for Ibn Battūta found in his city twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen for girls, the latter a thing which he had seen nowhere else in his travels.

After visiting several of the northern ports of Malabar, then very numerous and flourishing, they arrived at CALICUT, which the traveller describes as one of the finest ports in the world, frequented for trade by the people of China, the Archipelago, Ceylon, the Maldives, Yemen, and the Persian Gulf. Here they were honourably received by the king, who bore the title of SAMARI (the Zamorin of the Portuguese), and made their landing in great state. But all this was to be followed by speedy grief, as the traveller himself observes.

At Calicut they abode for three months, awaiting the season for the voyage to China, viz., the spring. All the communication with that country, according to Ibn Battūta (the fact itself is perhaps questionable), was conducted in Chinese vessels, of which there were three classes: the biggest called JUNK, the middle-sized ZAO, and the third KAKAM. The greater ships had from

three to twelve sails, made of strips of bamboo woven like mats. Each of them had a crew of 1000 men, viz., 600 sailors and 400 soldiers, and had three tenders attached, which were called respectively the HALF, the THIRD, and the QUARTER, names apparently indicating their proportionate size. The vessels for this trade were built nowhere except at ZAITUN and SINKALAN, the city also called SIN-UL-SIN, and were all made with triple sides, fastened with enormous spikes, three cubits in length. Each ship had four decks, and numerous private and public cabins for the merchant passengers, with closets and all sorts of conveniences. The sailors frequently had pot-herbs, ginger, etc., growing on board in wooden tubs. The commander of the ship was a very great personage, and, when he landed, the soldiers belonging to his ship marched before him with sword and spear and martial music.

The oars or sweeps used on these great junks were more like masts than oars, and each was pulled by from ten to thirty men. They stood to their work in two ranks, facing each other, pulling by means of a strong cable fastened to the oar (which itself was, I suppose, too great for their grasp), and singing out to the stroke, La, La! La, La!

The only ports of Malabar frequented for trade by the China vessels were Kaulam, Calicut, and Hili; but those which intended to pass the Monsoon in India, used to go into the harbour of FANDARAINA for that purpose. Thirteen of these ships, of different sizes, were lying at Calicut when Ibn Battûta's party were there.

The Zamorin prepared accommodation on board one of the junks for the party from Delhi; but Ibn Battûta, having ladies with him, went to the agent for the vessel, a Mahomedan called Suleiman ul-Safadi-ul-Shami, to obtain a private cabin for them, having, it would seem, in his usual happy-go-lucky way, deferred this to the last moment. The agent told him that the cabins were all taken up by the Chinese merchants, who had (apparently) "return tickets." There was one, indeed, belonging to his own son-in-law, which Ibn Battûta could have, but it was not fitted up; however if he took that now, probably he would be able to make some better arrangement on the voyage; (it would seem from this that shipping agency in those days was a good deal like what it sometimes is now). So one Thursday afternoon our traveller's baggage and slaves, male and female, were put on board, whilst he stayed ashore to attend the Friday service before embarking. His

colleagues, with the presents for China, were already on board. But the next morning early, the Eunuch Hilal, Ibn Battūta's servant, came to complain that the cabin assigned to them was a wretched little hole, and would never do. Appeal was made to the captain, but he said it could not be helped; if, however, they liked to go in a KAKAM which was there, they might pick and choose. Our traveller consented, and had his goods and his women-kind transferred to the kakam before public prayer time. In the afternoon the sea rose (it always did in the afternoon, he observes), and it was impossible to embark. By this time the China ships were all gone except that with the presents, another junk which was going to stop over the monsoon at Fandaraina, and the kakam, on which all the moor's property was embarked. When he got up on Saturday morning the junk with his colleagues, and the kakam, had weighed, and got outside the harbour. The junk bound for Fandaraina was wrecked inside. There was a young girl on board, much beloved by her master, a certain merchant. He offered ten pieces of gold to any one who would save her. One of the sailors from Hormuz did save her, at the imminent risk of his life, and then refused the reward. "I did it for the love of God," said this good man. The junk with the presents also was wrecked on the reefs outside, and all on board perished. Many bodies were cast up by the waves; among others those of the Envoy Zahir-uddin, with the skull fractured, and of Malik Sunbul the eunuch, with a nail through his temples. Among the rest of the people who flocked to the shore to see what was going on, there came down the Zamorin himself, with nothing on but a scrap of a turban and a white cotton *Dhoti,* attended by a boy with an umbrella. And, to crown all, when the kakam's people saw what had befallen their consort, they made all sail to seaward, carrying off with them our traveller's slaves, his girls and gear, and leaving him there on the beach of Calicut gazing after them, with nought remaining to him but his prayer-carpet, ten pieces of gold, and an emancipated slave, which last absconded forthwith!

He was told that the kakam must touch at Kaulam, so he determined to go thither. It was a ten days' journey, whether by land or water, so he set off by the lagoons with a Mussulman whom he had hired to attend on him, but who got continually drunk, and only added to the depression of the traveller's spirits. On the tenth day he reached Kaulam, the Columbum of our friars, which he describes as one of the finest cities of Malabar, with splendid bazaars, and wealthy merchants, there termed *Suli,* some of whom were Mahomedans. There was also a Mahomedan Kazi

and Shabandar (Master Attendant), etc. Kaulam was the first port at which the China ships touched on reaching India, and most of the Chinese merchants frequented it. The king was an Infidel, called TIRAWARI, a man of awful justice, of which a startling instance is cited by Ibn Battūta. One day when the king was riding with his son-in-law, the latter picked up a mango, which had fallen over a garden wall. The king's eye was upon him; he was immediately ordered to be ripped open and divided asunder, the parts being exposed on each side of the way, and a half of the fatal mango beside each!

The unfortunate ambassador could hear nothing of his kakam, but he fell in with the Chinese envoys who had been wrecked in another junk. They were refitted by their countrymen at Kaulam, and got off to China, where Ibn Battūta afterwards encountered them.

He had sore misgivings about returning to tell his tale at Delhi, feeling strong suspicion that Sultan Mahomed would be only too glad to have such a crow to pluck with him. So he decided on going to his friend the Sultan Jamal-ud-din at Hunawur, and to stop with him till he could hear some news of the missing kakam. The prince received him, but evidently with no hearty welcome. For the traveller tells that he had no servant allowed him, and spent nearly all his time in the mosque—always a sign that things were going badly with Ibn Battūta—where he read the whole Koran through daily, and by and by twice a day. So he passed his time for three months.

The King of Hunawur was projecting an expedition against the Island of Sindabur. Ibn Battūta thought of joining it, and on taking the *sortes koranicae* he turned up xxii, 41, "Surely God will succour those who succour Him;" which so pleased the king that he determined to accompany the expedition also. Some three months after the capture of Sindabur the restless man started again on his travels, going down the coast to Calicut. Here he fell in with two of his missing slaves, who told him that his favourite girl was dead; that the King of Java (probably Sumatra) had appropriated the other women, and that the rest of the party were dispersed, some in Java, some in China, some in Bengal. So there was an end of the kakam.

He went back to Hunawur and Sindabur, where the Mussulman forces were speedily beleaguered by the Hindu prince whom they had expelled. Things beginning to look bad, Ibn Battūta, after some two months' stay, made his escape and got back to Calicut.

Here he took it into his head to visit the DHIBAT-UL-MAHAL or Maldive (Male dīva) Islands, of which he had heard wonderful stories.

One of the marvels of these islands was that they were under a female sovereign, Kadija, daughter of the late Sultan Jalal-ud-din Omar, who had been set up as queen on the deposition of her brother for misconduct. Her husband, the preacher Jamal-ud-din, actually governed, but all orders were issued in the name of the princess, and she was prayed for by name in the Friday Service.

Ibn Battūta was welcomed to the islands, and was appointed Kazi, marrying the daughter of one of the Wazirs and three wives besides. The lax devotion of the people and the primitive costume of the women affected his pious heart; he tried hard but in vain to reform the latter, and to introduce the system that he had witnessed at Urghanj, of driving folk to mosque on Friday with the constable's staff.

Before long he was deep in discontent, quarrels and intrigues, and in August 1344 he left the Maldives for Ceylon.

As he approached the island he speaks of seeing the Mountain of Serendib (compare Marignolli's MONS SEYLLANI) rising high in air "like a column of smoke." He landed at Batthalah (PATLAM), where he found a Pagan chief reigning, a piratical potentate called Airi Shakarwati, who treated him civilly and facilitated his making the journey to Adam's Peak, whilst his skipper obligingly promised to wait for him.

In his journey he passes MANAR MANDALI, and the port of SALAWAT, and then crosses extensive plains abounding in elephants. These however did no harm to pilgrims and foreigners, owing to the benignant influence exercised over them by the Shaikh Abu Abdallah, who first opened the road to the Holy Footmark. He then reached KUNAKAR as he calls it, the residence of the lawful King of Ceylon, who was entitled Kunar, and possessed a white elephant. Close to this city was the pool called the Pool of Precious Stones, out of which some of the most valuable gems were extracted. His description of the ascent to the summit is vivid and minute, and probably most of the sites which he speaks of could be identified by the aid of those who act as guides to Mahomedan pilgrims, if such there still be. He descends on the opposite side (towards Ratnapura), and proceeds to visit DINWAR, a large place on the sea, inhabited by merchants (Devineuera or Dondera), where a vast idol temple then existed,

GALLE (which he calls KALI), and COLUMBO (KALANBU), so returning by the coast to Patlam. Columbo is described as even then one of the finest cities of the island. It was the abode of the "Wazir and Admiral Jalasti," who kept about him a body of 500 Abyssinians. This personage is not impossibly the same with the Khwaja Jahan, who so politely robbed John Marignolli. It is not said whose Wazir and Admiral he was.

At Patlam he took ship again for Maabar, but as he approached his destination he again came to grief, the ship grounding some six or eight miles from the shore. The crew abandoned the wreck, but our hero stuck by it, and was saved by some pagan natives.

On reaching the land, he reported his arrival to the *de facto* ruler of the country. This was the Sultan Ghaisuddin of Damghan, recently invested with the government of Maabar, a principality originally set up by his father-in-law, the Sheriff Jalal-uddin. The latter had been appointed by Mahomed Tughlak to the military command of the province, but about 1338-9 had declared himself independent, striking coin in his own name, and proclaiming himself under the title of Ahhsan Shah Sultan. Ibn Battūta, during his stay at Delhi, had married one of the Sheriff's daughters, named Hhurnasab. "She was a pious woman," says her husband, "who used to spend the night in watching and prayer. She could read, but had not learned to write. She bore me a daughter, but what is becoming of either the one or the other is more than I can tell!" Thus Ibn Battūta was brother-in-law to the reigning Sultan, who, on receiving the traveller's message, sent for him to his camp, two days' journey distant. This brother-in-law was a ruffian, whose cruel massacres of women and children excited the traveller's disgust and tacit remonstrance. However, he busied himself in engaging the Sultan in a scheme for the invasion of the Maldives, but before it came to anything the chief died of a pestilence. His nephew and successor, Sultan Nasir-uddin, was ready to take up the project, but Ibn Battūta got a fever at the capital, MUTTRA (Madura), and hurried off to FATAN, a large and fine city on the sea, with an admirable harbour, where he found ships sailing for Yemen, and took his passage in one of them as far as Kaulam. Here he stayed for three months, and then went off for the fourth time to visit his friend the Sultan of Hunawur. On his way, however, off a small island between Fakanur and Hunawur (probably the Pigeon Island of modern maps), the vessel was attacked by pirates of the wrong kind, and the unlucky adventurer was deposited on the beach stript of everything but his

drawers! On this occasion, as he mentions elsewhere incidentally, he lost a number of transcripts of epitaphs of celebrated persons which he had made at Bokhara, along with other matters, not improbably including the notes of his earlier travels. Returning to Calicut he was clothed by the charity of the Faithful. Here also he heard news of the Maldives; the Preacher Jamal-uddin was dead, and the Queen had married another of the Wazirs; moreover one of the wives whom he had abandoned had borne him a son. He had some hesitation about returning to the Islands, as he well might, considering what he had been plotting against them, but encouraged by a new cast of the Sortes he went and was civilly received. His expectations, however, or his caprices, were disappointed, for he seems to have stayed but five days, and then went on to Bengal.

—Yule: '*Cathay and the Way Thither*', Vol. iv. Introductory Notice pp. 20-36.

(C) *ii.—Ibn Battūta*: *Travels in S. India*

DAULATABAD

From Ujjain we went to Daulatabad, a large and illustrious city which rivals the capital, Delhi, in importance and in the vastness of its lay-out. It is divided into three parts. One is Daulatabad, properly so called, reserved for the residence of the Sultan and his troops; the second part is called Katkah (Skt. *Kaṭaka*, camp), and the third is the citadel, unequalled for its strength, and called Davaiquir (Devagir).

At Daulatabad resides the great KHān, Quṭlu KHān, preceptor to the Sultan. He is the commandant of the city, and represents the Sultan there as well as in the lands of Ṣāghar, Tiling and their dependencies. The territory of these provinces extends for three months' march, and is well populated. It is entirely under the authority of Quṭlu KHān and his lieutenants. The fortress of Devagir above mentioned is a rock situated in the midst of a plain; the rock has been scarped and a castle built on its summit; it is reached by a leather ladder which is raised at night.

DUNGEONS

There live with their children the *Mufrīd*, that is to say the *Zimāmy* (soldiers entered in the army lists). In its dungeons are imprisoned persons convicted of serious crimes. In these dungeons there are huge rats, bigger than cats; in truth cats run away from them as they are unable to resist their attacks. Hence they can be caught only by recourse to ruses. I saw these rats at Devagir and marvelled at them.

The Malik KHaṭṭāb, the Afghān, related to me that he was at one time imprisoned in a dungeon in this fortress, called the dungeon of rats. 'These animals,' he said, 'gathered near me by night to devour me. I defended myself against them, not without experiencing fatigue. I then saw some one in a dream who said to me: "Read the chapter on true piety (ch. 112 of the Quran) a hundred thousand times, and God will deliver you." I recited this chapter (continued KHaṭṭāb), and when I had completed the required number of times, I was released. The cause of my release was this: Malik Mal was imprisoned in a chamber near mine; he fell ill, the rats ate his fingers and his eyes, and he died. When the Sultan heard of this, he said: "Release KHaṭṭāb lest he should come to the same end."'

It was to the fortress of Devagir that Nāṣir-ud-dīn, son of the same Malik Mal, and Qāẓī Jalāl-ud-dīn fled for refuge, when they were defeated by the Sultan.

PEOPLE

The inhabitants of the territory of Daulatabad belong to the tribe of Mahrathas, to whose women God has granted a peculiar beauty, especially in their noses and eyebrows. They possess talents not found in other women, in the art of pleasing men, and they know everything connected with the union of the sexes. The idolaters of Daulatabad are devoted to commerce, and their principal trade consists in pearls; their wealth is enormous, and they are called *Sāha* (Skt. Sārthavāha); the singular of the word is *sāh* —and they resemble the *Akārims* of Egypt.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

There are in Daulatabad vines and pomegranates which yield two harvests in a year. By its population and the extent of its territory, and the number of very large and important cities in it, this province is very important for the revenues derived from it. I was told that a certain Hindu took a lease of the contributions from the province for seventeen crores. The province extends, as stated above, for a distance of three months' march. A crore is a hundred lakhs, and a lakh is a hundred thousand dinars. But the Hindu did not keep his engagements; a balance remained to his charge; his treasures were seized, and he was himself flayed.

In Daulatabad there is a bazaar for singers and singing girls. This bazaar, called *Ṭarb ābād* (abode of rejoicing) is among the largest and most beautiful in existence. It contains many shops, each with a door leading to the house of its proprietor, which has

another gate independent of this. The shop is beautified with carpets, and in the midst of it, there is a sort of a large swing on which the singing girl sits or reclines. She is adorned with all kinds of jewels, and her attendants rock her swing. In the centre of the bazaar, there is a large pavilion, furnished with carpets, and gilded, where the chief musician goes and sits on all Thursdays, after the prayer at four in the evening, with his servants and slaves in front of him. The singing girls come in groups, and sing and dance in his presence till sunset when he withdraws.

BAZAAR OF SINGERS

In this bazaar there are mosques for prayer, where the priests recite the prayer called *tarāwīḥ* in the month of Ramẓān. One of the Hindu rulers, whenever he passed through this bazaar, used to alight in this pavilion, and the singing girls used to sing in his presence. One of the Muhammadan Sultans used to do likewise.

We proceeded from this place to the small town of Naẓarbār inhabited by Mahrathas, well-skilled in the mechanical arts. Their physicians, astrologers and nobles are called Brahmins and Kṣatriyas. Their food consists of rice, vegetables and oil of sesamé for they dislike giving pain to animals or slaughtering them; they wash themselves before eating, as we do (at home) to get rid of a pollution. They do not marry among their relatives at least upto the seventh remove. Neither do they drink wine, for this in their eyes is the greatest of vices; it is so in all India even among the Mussulmans; any one of them (Muslims) that drinks wine is punished with eighty stripes and imprisoned for three months in a dungeon which is opened only at meal-times.

NAZARBAR

From Naẓarbār we went to Ṣāghar, a large city on a considerable river of the same name.[2] On the banks of this river, we see water wheels,[3] and orchards where grow mangoes, bananas and sugar-cane. The inhabitants of the city are peaceable, religious and upright men, and all their acts are worthy of approbation. There are orchards, with hermitages meant for travellers. Some man founds an hermitage, bequeaths an orchard to it, and vests the supervision of it in his children; when the succession fails, the supervision passes to the magistrates. The population of Ṣāghar is very large; strangers go there for the company of the people, and because the town is exempt from taxes and dues.

SAGHAR

2. The Tapti.—Gibb.
3. A kind of water-lift.

From Ṣāghar we travelled to Kinbāyah (Cambay), situated on an arm of the sea resembling a river. It is navigable for ships and the ebb and flow of the tide are felt in it. I saw ships lying in the mud during the ebb floating on water at the flow. Kinbāyah is among the most beautiful cities by the elegance of its construction and the size of its mosques. This is due to the majority of its inhabitants being foreign merchants who are always building fine houses and superb temples, and vie with one another in doing so.

CAMBAY

Among the large mansions of the place was that of Sharīf-ul-Sāmarry with whom I had the adventure of the pastry cakes.[4] I have never seen more solid woodwork than I saw in his house; its door was like the gate of a town, and quite close to a large mosque also bearing the name Sāmarry. Then there is the residence of the Malik-ul-Tujār[5] ul-Kāzarūnī which has also a mosque quite close, and the house of the trader Shams-ud-dīn Kulāh Dūz. The last two words signify 'cap-maker' in Persian. When Qāẓī Jalāl, the Afghān, rebelled, as stated already, this Shams-ud-dīn just mentioned, the captain of the ship Elias, one of the principal residents of Kinbāyah, and the chief of the medical men who has been spoken of above, wished to hold this city against the rebel. They attempted to dig a moat round it, as it had no walls. But Jalāl defeated them and entered the town. These three persons hid themselves in a house, and were afraid of being discovered. Hence they agreed to commit suicide, each of them striking another with a *qattārah*.[6] Two died accordingly, but the chief of the medical men survived.

MANSIONS

Among the principal merchants of Kinbāyah, there was again Najm-ud-dīn of Jīlān endowed with a fine figure and enormous riches. He built a large house and a mosque in this city. Later, the Sultan sent for him, made him governor of Kinbāyah, and conferred honours on him. This led to the loss not only of his wealth, but of his life.

MERCHANTS

The commandant of Kinbāyah, at the moment of our arrival in the town, was Muqbil the Tilingi,[7] who was greatly respected by the Sultan. He had with him Shaikh Zādah of Ispahān who deputised for him in all his affairs. This Shaikh had enormous wealth, and had a profound knowledge of state affairs.

4. Vol. iii, p. 425.

5. Malik-ul-Tujār, meaning Prince of Merchants, is a title which Mussulman Kings of India conferred on one of their nobles.—N. V. R.

6. A kind of dagger.

7. See E.D. iii, pp. 367*f*.

He was always sending out sums of money to his country and planning devices to take his flight. The Sultan came to know of this, and he wrote to Muqbil asking him to send this person to him, and Muqbil having sent him without delay, he was brought before the Sultan who placed him under guard. It was rarely that a person so guarded by the Sultan made good his escape. The Shaikh, however, struck a bargain with his keeper promising to pay him a sum of money, and they both fled. A trustworthy man told me that he met him in a corner of a mosque in the town of Qalhāt adding that he subsequently returned to his native country, collected his treasures and had nothing to fear any more.

The Malik Muqbil entertained us one day in his palace. By a curious chance, the Qāẓī of the town who was blind in his right eye, found himself seated opposite a Sharīf of Baghdād, who closely resembled him in his appearance and his infirmity except that he was blind in his left eye. The Sharīf looked at the Qāẓī and laughed. The Qāẓī having reprimanded him, he replied: 'Do not reproach me, for I am better looking than you.' 'How is that?' asked the Qāẓī. The Sharīf answered: 'Because you are blind in your right eye, while I am that only in my left eye.' The governor and the assistants laughed, and the Qāẓī looked foolish. He could make no answer, for in India the Sharīfs are held in great regard.

Among the good men of this town (Cambay) was the pilgrim Nāṣir, native of the country of Bakr, living in one of the pavilions of the principal mosque. We visited him and dined with him. He happened to go and meet the Qāẓī Jalāl when, in the course of his rebellion, he entered Kinbāyah. It was reported to the Sultan that he had prayed in favour of the rebel. He fled for fear of being put to death like Al Ḥaidarī. Another virtuous man living in Kinbāyah is the merchant KHwājah Isḥaq who has a hermitage where all are fed. He spends a great deal on the fakirs and the indigent, and yet his wealth is ever increasing.

KAWA

From Kinbāyah we proceeded to the town of Kāvy,[8] situated on a bay where the flow and ebb of the tide are felt. It forms part of the territory of the infidel Rāi Jālansy of whom we shall speak presently. From Kāvy we went to Qandhār,[9] a large city belonging to the infidels and situated on a gulf of the sea.

8. Kawa, a small place on the opposite side of the Bay from Cambay—Gibb; also Yule, *Cathay*, iv, p. 63.

9. Gandhar or Gandar, a little to the south of Kawa.—Gibb, *cf.* Yule *ibid.*

The Sultan of Qandhār is an infidel called Jālansy, who is subject to the authority of the Mussulmans, and sends an annual present to the king of India. When we reached Qandhār, he came out to receive us, and showed QANDHAR us the greatest consideration, and even quitted his palace to lodge us in it. The principal Mussulmans in his court came and visited us, such as the children of K̲H̲wājah Buhrah, one of whom was the patron of the captain Ibrāhīm who owned six vessels. At Qandhār we embarked on the sea.

We boarded a vessel belonging to this Ibrāhīm and called the *Jākir*. We took on this ship seventy horses that were part of the present offered by the king of India to the emperor of China, and we put the others with the horses of our companions in a ship belonging to a brother of Ibrāhīm and called *Manuvart*. Jālansy gave us a vessel on which we put the horses of Ẓahīr-ud-dīn, Sanbal and their comrades. He provisioned it for us with water, victuals and forage, and sent his son with us on a ship called the *'Akairy* resembling a galley, but more roomy. It has sixty oars, and, during a combat, it is covered with a roof so that arrows and stones may not hit the rowers. I embarked on the Jâkir which had fifty bowmen and as many Abyssinian soldiers. The latter are dominant in this ocean, and when there is even one of them on board a vessel, pirates and Hindu idolaters refrain from attacking it.

After two days we reached the isle of Bairam (Perim)[10], which is deserted and four miles from the mainland. We disembarked there and drew some water from a reservoir. The island has remained deserted since PERIM the time the Muslims invaded it against the infidels. Desirous of re-peopling it, the Malik-ul-Tujār, of whom we have spoken, has built a fortification, placed mangonels in it and established some Mussulmans there.

We left Bairam and on the next day we reached the large town of Qūqah[11] which has extensive bazaars. We cast anchor four miles from the shore on account KUKAH of the low tide. I got into a boat with some of my companions to reach the shore. The boat stuck in the mud, and we had to stop about a mile from the city. When the boat stuck, I leaned on two of my comrades. Though my assistants frightened me that the tide might

10. Yule, *Cathay*, iv, p. 64.

11. The still tolerably flourishing port of Gōgō on the W. side of the Gulf of Cambay.—Yule, *ibid.*

return before I reached Qūqah and I could not swim very well, still I managed to reach the town in safety, and went round the bazaars. I saw there a mosque said to have been built by KHiẓr and Elias. I said my sunset prayer there, and came across a group of Ḥaidarī fakirs accompanied by their superior. I then returned to my ship.

SANDABUR

The Sultan of Qūqah is an infidel, Dunkūl by name, who professed submission to the king of India, but was in reality a rebel. Three days after setting sail again, we arrived at the island of Sandābūr,[12] where there are thirty-six villages. It is surrounded by a gulf, and at the ebb tide the water in it is sweet and agreeable, whereas it is salt and bitter during high tide. There are two towns in the interior, one an ancient construction of the infidels, and the other built by the Mussulmans when they first conquered the island. In the latter there is a great cathedral mosque comparable to the mosques of Baghdād: it was founded by Captain Ḥasan, father of the Sultan Jamāl-ud-dīn Muhammad of Hanaur, of whom and of my stay with whom when the island was conquered a second time, I shall speak later, D. V. We passed this island, and cast anchor at a small island near the mainland; on this island there were a temple, an orchard and a tank.

ENCOUNTER WITH A YOGI

When we landed on this island, we saw a Jōgi leaning against the wall of a *butkhānah*, *i.e.*, a temple of idols. He stood between two of these idols, and showed clear traces of self-mortification. We spoke to him, but he did not answer. We looked to see if there was any food near him, but there was none. As we were thus engaged, he gave a loud shout, and at once a cocoanut fell before him, and he presented it to us. We were surprised at this, and offered him pieces of gold and silver, but he did not accept them. We brought some provisions to him which he likewise refused. A mantle of camel-hair was spread before him; I turned it in my hands, and he handed it over to me. I had in my hand a chaplet of shells which he touched and I gave it to him; he polished it with his fingers, smelt it and kissed it, pointing to heaven and then in the direction of the Qiblah. My companions did not understand these signs, but I knew that he implied that he was a Mussulman who hid his religion from the inhabitants of this island. He lived on cocoanuts. When we took leave of him, I kissed his hand, and my comrades disapproved of my action. He perceived their dis-

12. Goa—Gibb, cf. Yule, *ibid.*, pp. 64-6.

approval, took my hand and kissed it smiling, and signalled to us that we might go back. We then went away, I being the last to leave. The Jōgi pulled me by my dress, and when I turned to him he gave me ten pieces of gold. When we went out of his presence, my friends asked me: 'Why did he pull you?' I replied: 'He gave me these gold pieces.' I gave three of them to Ẓahīr-ud-dīn and three to Sanbal, telling them: "This man is a Mussulman. Did you not see how he pointed to heaven to indicate that he acknowledged the Almighty God above, and how he pointed to the direction of Mecca, to show his recognition of the mission of the Prophet? This is confirmed by his taking the chaplet." When I had said this, they turned to look at him again, but he was not there.

HONAVAR

The next day we came to Hanaur (Honavar) situated on a large gulf navigable for large ships. The city is a mile and a half away from the sea. In the rainy season the sea is so disturbed that for four consecutive months there can be no sailing except for fishing.

The day we arrived at Hanaur, a Hindu Jōgi came to meet me secretly, and gave me six gold pieces, saying: 'The Brahmin (for so he called the Jōgi who got my chaplet and gave me the dinars) sent you this money.' I took the dinars from him and offered him one of them, which he refused. When he went away, I informed my companions of this, telling them: 'If you wish, you can take your share of this sum.' They declined, but they were astonished at this occurrence, and said: 'We added an equal sum to the six pieces of gold you gave us, and left the whole amount, between the two idols in the spot where we met this person.' I was very much surprised by all that concerned this man, and I kept the dinars he had presented to me.

The people of Hanaur profess the doctrine of Shāfi'ī; they are pious, devoted, courageous, and wage war on the sea with infidels. They are noted for this; fortune has deserted them after they conquered Sandabur, as we shall narrate.

Among the holy men I met at Hanaur was Shaikh Muhammad ul-Nāqūry who entertained me in his hermitage. He cooked food with his own hand, regarding as impure anything prepared by slaves, male or female. I also met the jurisconsult Isma'īl who was teaching the Quran. He was given to fasting, looked conceited, but had a generous heart. I saw too the Qāẓi of the town, Nūr-ud-dīn 'Aly and the preacher whose name I have forgotten.

The women of Hanaur and of all the coastal districts do not wear stitched cloths, but only unsewn garments. They tie one end of the

WOMEN

cloth round their waist and drape the rest over the head and chest. They are beautiful and chaste; each of them wears a ring of gold in her nose. One notable feature is that they all know the Quran by heart. I saw in Hanaur thirteen schools for the instruction of girls, and twenty-three for boys, a thing I have not seen anywhere else.

SCHOOLS

The people of Hanaur live by maritime trade, and own no cultivated land. The inhabitants of Malabar pay a fixed sum every year to Sultan Jamāl-ud-dīn (of Hanaur) as they are afraid of his power on the sea. His army comprises six thousand men, horse and foot. This Sultan Jamāl-ud-dīn Muhammad, son of Ḥasan, is one of the best and most powerful sovereigns. He is subject to the supremacy of an infidel king named Hariab[13] of whom we shall speak later. Sultan Jamāl-ud-dīn is fond of praying in the company of others of the faith. He has the practice of going to the mosque before daybreak and there reading the Quran till it is dawn; then he prays for the first time, and goes for a ride outside the city. He returns to the mosque about nine o'clock, and, after prostrating himself there, goes back to his palace. He fasts on full-moon days. During my sojourn near him, he invited me to break the fast in his company, and I assisted at this ceremony as well as the jurisconsults 'Aly and Isma'īl. They placed four seats on the ground; he sat on one of them and the rest of us sat on the others.

SULTAN

The order observed in the Sultan's meal is as follows: there is set a table of copper called *khwancha* (in Persian) and on it they place a plate of the same metal, which they call *ṭālam*. A beautiful slave, clad in silk, comes and causes to be placed before the prince saucepans containing the food. She has a large spoon of copper with which she takes a spoonful of rice and serves it on the plate; she pours ghee on it, and places some pickled pepper in bunches, green ginger, and pickled lemons and mangoes. The guest eats a mouthful and then some of the preserves. When the spoonful that she served on the plate is consumed, she serves another spoonful of rice, and serves in another bowl a roast fowl with which some more rice is eaten. After this second course, she fetches, still in a saucepan, another species of fowl and serves it; this is always eaten with rice.

SULTAN'S MEAL

13. Of course Harihara of Vijayanagar; but Ibn Battūta does not mention him again.

When the different kinds of fowl have been done with, there follow divers sorts of fish and more rice with them. After the fish, they serve vegetables cooked in butter, and milk foods, also taken with rice. At the end of all these courses, *kūshān i.e.*, butter-milk is brought, and this finishes the meal. When butter-milk is served, it means that there is nothing more to eat. Above all, they drink hot water, for cold water is harmful in the rainy season.

On another occasion I spent eleven months with the Sultan without ever eating bread, for the people there live only on rice. I also spent three years in the Maldive islands, in Sīlān (Ceylon) and in the countries of Ma'bar and Malabar, eating only rice, so that I could swallow it only with water.

HIS DRESS

The dress of the Sultan of Hanaur consists of clothes of very fine silk and linen; he ties a loin-cloth round his body, and wears two cloths one over the other; he plaits his hair and ties a small turban round it. When he mounts a horse, he puts on a tunic and two cloths over it. They beat a kettle-drum and sound the trumpet before him.

MALABAR

This time we spent three days at his court; he gave us provisions for the journey and we took leave of him. At the end of three more days we reached Malabar, the land of pepper. It extends along the sea coast for a length of two months' journey, from Sandābūr (Goa) to Kūlam (Quilon). For the whole distance, the road passes under the shade of trees; at every half-mile, there is a wooden structure with platforms on which all travellers, Muslim or infidel, may sit. Near each of these rest houses, there is a well for drinking and an infidel is placed in charge of it. He supplies the water in vessels to infidels; in the case of Muslims he pours the water into their hands, and continues to do so until they signal to him to stop. The idolaters of Malabar do not allow Muslims to enter their houses or eat from their vessels. If a Muslim should do the contrary, they break the vessel or give it to the Muhammadan. When a Muhammadan goes to a place where there is no house belonging to one of his class, the infidels cook the food and serve it to him on banana leaves; dogs and birds eat what is left over. In all the places on the road through Malabar, there are Muslim houses where their co-religionists can alight and buy all their requirements. But for these, no Mussulman could travel in this country.

On this road, which as we said extends for two months' march, there is not a palm's breadth of land that is not cultivated. Every-

GARDENS

body has his own garden and his house in the middle, the whole being surrounded by a wooden enclosure. The road runs through these gardens. When it comes up to the enclosure of an orchard, it goes up by one flight of wooden steps, and descends into the neighbouring orchard by another; this happens over the whole length of the road. No one travels in this country on an animal, and only the Sultan owns horses. The principal vehicle of the people is a palanquin carried on the shoulders of slaves or hired labourers; those that do not get up on a palanquin, whoever they be, go on foot. People who have baggages or moveables like merchandise hire out men who carry them on their backs. One merchant may be accompanied by about hundred men carrying his wares.

PALANQUIN

MERCHANTS

Everyone of these men carries a stout stick fitted with an iron point at the lower end and a hook of the same metal at the top; when the porter is fatigued and does not find any place for resting himself, he sticks his baton into the ground and suspends his burden on it. After rest, he takes up his charge without any one to assist him and resumes his march.

JUSTICE

I have not seen a safer road than this, for the Hindus put to death any one who steals a single nut. Again, when a fruit drops on the ground no one picks it up until the owner takes it. I heard that once several Hindus passed by the road and that one of them picked up a nut. The governor, coming to know of it, ordered a stake to be driven into the ground and its upper end to be cut and fixed on a wooden plank in such wise that a portion of it showed up above the plank. The culprit was extended on it and fixed to the stake which entered his abdomen and came out by the back; he was left in this posture to serve as an example to the spectators. On the road there are many stakes like this, so that passers by may see them and be warned.

Now, we sometimes met infidels on the road by night, who, when they saw us, turned aside to let us pass. Mussulmans are held in the highest regard in this country except that the people, as we said, do not eat with them or allow them to enter their houses.

There are twelve infidel Sultans in Malabar; the more powerful among them having an army of fifty thousand troops, the weaker ones only three thousand. But there is no discord among

them, and the strong does not covet what the weak possesses. At the boundary of each state there is a wooden gate on which is engraved the name of the Sultan whose territory begins there; they call it 'the gate of security' of N. When a Mussulman or an infidel flees from the state of one of these princes because of some delinquency, and reaches the gate of security of another prince, he is safe and cannot be caught by him from whom he had fled though he may be powerful, having many troops at his disposal.

KINGS

The sovereigns of this country transmit their royalty to their sister's son to the exclusion of their own children. I have not found this rule elsewhere, except with the Messūfah who wear the *liṯām* (veil which covers the lower part of the face) and who will be referred to later.[13a] When a ruler of Malabar wishes to put a stop to his subjects buying and selling, he gives his orders to one of his slaves who hangs before the shops a branch of a tree with its foliage intact. No one buys or sells so long as these branches remain before the shops.

The pepper-plant resembles the vine; they plant it near the cocoanut trees, round which they climb like the stem of the vine; only, unlike the vine, the pepper-plant has no tendrils. The leaves are like those of the rue; and partly also resemble the leaves of a bramble. The pepper-plant bears small bunches of berries which, when green, resemble those of the *abu-Qinnīnah* (raisin?). When autumn arrives, they gather the pepper and spread it in the sun on mats, as they spread grapes when they wish to dry them. They do this until it becomes perfectly dry and black, and then they sell it to the merchants. People in our country maintain that the wrinkles on the pepper are caused by its being roasted on the fire; but this is not so, and it is due only to the action of the sun. I have seen this in the town of Qālqōṭ (Calicut) where they measure pepper by the bushel as we do millet in our lands.

PEPPER PLANT

The first town of Malabar we entered was Abu Sarūr (Barcelore), a small place situated on a large bay and rich in cocoanuts. The chief of the Mussulman population here is Shaikh Jum'a, known as Abu Sittah 'father of six,' a generous man who has spent all his wealth on fakirs and the indigent. Two days after our departure from this town, we reached Fākanūr (Bākanūr),[14] a large town on a bay. There was an abundance of excellent sugar-cane, unequalled

BAKANUR

13a. S. and D. index, s.v. Messoûfah.
14. Yule, *Cathay*, iv, p. 73.

in the rest of the country. There are some Mussulmans and their chief is called Ḥusain-ul-Salāṭ. There is a Qāẓī and a preacher, and this Ḥusain has built a mosque for the Friday prayer.

The Sultan of Fākanūr is an infidel called Bāsadav (Vāsudeva). He has about thirty ships of war under the command of Lūlā, a Muslim, a bad man and a pirate who robs merchants. When we anchored at Fākanūr, the Sultan sent his son to us to stay as a hostage on the vessel. When we went to see him, he entertained us with great cordiality for three days as a mark of respect for the Emperor of India and with a desire to gain by trade with our men. It is the custom of the country that each vessel which passes near a town must necessarily enter the port and offer the prince a present, 'the right of the port' as it is called. If a ship fails to do so, the people pursue her in their vessels, bring her forcibly into port, impose a double tax on her and detain her as long as they like.

MANGALORE

We left Fākanūr, and at the end of three days we arrived at Manjarūr (Mangalore),[15] a large town on the bay of Dunb, the largest inlet in Malabar. It is here that most of the merchants from Fārs and Yemen disembark. Pepper and ginger are here in great abundance.

The Sultan of Manjarūr is one of the principal rulers of this country. His name is Rām-dav (Rāma-deva). There are in Manjarūr about 4000 Mussulmans who live in a suburb. Conflicts occur often between them and the inhabitants of the city, and the Sultan reconciles them as he has need of the merchants. We saw in Manjarūr a Qāẓī, a distinguished and generous man, who professes the doctrine of Shāfi'ī, and teaches the sciences; his name is Badr-ud-dīn of Ma'bar. He came first to visit us on board and asked us to land and go into the town. We answered him: "We will not do so, until the Sultan sends his son to stay on board."— 'The Sultan of Fākanūr,' he replied, 'did so only because the Mussulmans living in his town had no power; but here the Sultan fears us.' We persisted in our refusal until the Sultan sent his son as the Sultan of Fākanūr had done. When we landed he treated us with great consideration, and we stayed there three days.

Then we left for Hīly[16] and reached it in two days. It is a large town, well-built and situated on a large bay navigable for

15. Yule, *ib.*, pp. 73-4.

16. Mt. D'Eli. Gibb thinks that the mediaeval port is to be sought at Nileshwar, a few miles to the north of the promontory.—*Cf.* Yule, *ibid.*, pp. 74-5.

large ships. The ships from China come here; they enter only this port and the ports of Kūlam and Calicut. Hīly is respected alike by Mussulmans and idolaters on account of its great mosque, a source of blessings and of light. Sailors make vows of considerable offerings to it, and it possesses a rich treasury, placed under the supervision of the preacher Ḥusain and of Ḥasan-ul-vazzān (the weigher) the chief of the Muslims. There are in this mosque a certain number of students who learn the sciences and receive stipends from its revenues. It has a kitchen whence food is supplied to travellers and poor Muslims in the town. I met in the mosque the virtuous theologian, Sa'īd by name, a native of Maddshau. He had a fine figure and a good character and he fasted often. He told me that he had lived at Mecca for fourteen years and as many at Medina, that he had seen the amīr of Mecca, Abu Nemi, and of Medina, Mansūr, son of Jamāz, and lastly that he had travelled in India and China.

D'ELY

From Hīly we went to Jurfattan,[17] at a distance of three *parasangs*. There I saw a theologian from Baghdād, a man of great merit, named Ṣarṣary, after a village ten miles from Baghdād on the road to Kūfah .... He had a very rich brother living at Jurfattan who had young children. This brother had died commending the infants to him; I left him as he was preparing to take them to Baghdād. For it is the custom among the people of India and of Sudan not to interfere in the succession to strangers who die among them, though they leave behind millions in gold. Their money remains in the hands of the chief of the Mussulmans till it is received by those lawfully entitled to it.

CANNANORE

The Sultan of Jurfattan, Kōyal, by name, is one of the most powerful rulers of Malabar, and he owns a number of vessels which sail to 'Amān (Oman), Fārs and Yemen. Dahfattan and Budfattan are included in his state. We sailed from Jurfattan to Dahfattan,[17a] a large town on a bay, with many orchards in it. Here are found cocoanut palms, pepper and betel leaf and nut, and much *qalqāṣ* (*colocassia*) with which the Hindus cook their food; and as for banana, I have not seen any country which produces it more or cheaper. We have at Dahfattan a very large *bāīn* or tank, five

DHARMAPATAM

17. Cannanore, according to Yule, *Cathay*, iv, p. 76.
17a. Dharmapatam.—Yule.

hundred feet long and three hundred broad. It has a facing of red stone and has on its sides twenty-eight domes of stone, each containing four seats of the same material. Each of these pavilions is reached by a flight of stone steps. In the middle of the tank there is a large pavilion three stories high, each of them having four seats. I heard that this *bāīn* was erected by the father of Sultan Kōyal. Opposite to this, there is a cathedral mosque for the Mussulmans. The mosque has steps by which the faithful descend to the tank and wash themselves. The theologian Ḥusain told me that the mosque and the *bāīn* were built by one of the ancestors of Kōyal who was a Mussulman; his conversion came about in the following marvellous manner.

Near the mosque I saw a beautiful green tree with leaves like those of the fig, except that they were smooth. It was surrounded by a wall and had a niche or small chapel near it where I prayed and kneeled twice. The tree is called *dirakht-i-shahādat,* 'the tree of testimony.' I was told that every year when autumn came this tree dropped one leaf which had changed its colour first to yellow, and then into red, that on this leaf was written with the pen of divine power, the words: 'There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God.' Ḥusain and many other trustworthy men told me that they had seen this leaf and read the inscription on it. Ḥusain added that when the time came for the leaf falling, reliable persons among the Muslims as well as the infidels came and sat beneath the tree, and when the leaf fell, the Muslims took one half of it, the other half being deposited in the treasury of the infidel Sultan. The people use it often for the purpose of curing their diseases.[17b]

This tree was the cause of the grandfather of Kōyal going over to Islam. He could read Arabic, and when he deciphered the inscription and understood its import, he embraced the Islamic religion and practised it to perfection. His story is transmitted by tradition among Hindus. Ḥusain told me that one of the children of this Sultan returned to idolatry after the death of his father, behaved unjustly, and ordered the tree to be torn up by the roots. The order was executed and no vestige of the tree was left. But

17b. Compare the following from *The Marvels of India*:

"Somebody, who had travelled in India, once told me that he had seen, at Atakia, not far from Mankir, a city of the gold-bearing countries, a big tree, thick-boled, and much like a walnut, which bore red roses (or leaves), whereon you read, written in white characters: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet." (p. 146).

it grew up again and regained its original state. And the king died suddenly soon after.

From Dahfattan we proceeded to Budfattan,[18] a considerable town also on a bay. There is a mosque here near the sea outside the town, and Muslim strangers resort to it, for there are no Mussulmans at Budfattan, most of the inhabitants being Brahmin idolaters who hate Mussulmans. The harbour here is one of the most beautiful; the water is sweet, and there is an abundance of areca-nut which is exported to India[19] and China.

BUDFATTAN

I was told that the reason why the Brahmins have allowed this mosque to remain is that one of them demolished its roof to make the roof of his own house with the material; but the house caught fire and he perished with his children and his moveables. The Hindus respect this temple, and no longer entertain any ill designs against it. They render homage to it, store water before it so that travellers may drink, and place a trellis at the gate to prevent birds entering in.

Then we sailed to Fandarīnā, a large and beautiful town with gardens and bazaars. Here the Mussulmans occupy three quarters, each having a mosque; the chief temple on the beach is admirable; it has belvederes and halls facing the sea. The Qāẓī and preacher of Fandarīnā is a man from 'Amān and he has a good brother. The ships from China pass the winter here.

FANDARINA

We went from Fandarīnā to Calicut one of the great ports of Malabar. Men from China, Java, Ceylon, the Maldives, Yemen and Fārs come here as well as merchants from all parts. Its harbour is one of the largest in the world.

CALICUT

The Sultan of Calicut is an idolater known as the Sāmuri (the Zamorin). He is advanced in age and shaves his beard, like some of the Greeks. I saw him at Calicut and spoke to him, as it was God's pleasure. The chief of the merchants in this town was Ibrāhīm, the chief of the port, a native of Baḥrain. He is a distinguished man endowed with generous qualities; the merchants meet in his house and dine at his table. The Qāẓī of Calicut was Fakhr-ud-dīn 'Uṣmān, a distinguished and generous man. The

18. The name is not found in modern maps, but it must have been near Waddakarre of Keith Johnston's—Yule, *Cathay*, iv, p. 77.

19. Evidently the East Indies and Indo-China.

head of the hermitage was the Shaikh Shahāb-ud-dīn of Kazrūn, and the people of India and China vow and send offerings to him (may God enable us to profit by his merits!). In this town also lives the very rich and celebrated ship-owner Misqāl, who possesses numerous vessels employed in his trade with India,[20] China, Yemen and Fārs.

When we reached the town, Ibrāhīm, the chief of the port, came out to receive us, and so did the Qāẓī, the Shaikh Shahāb-ud-dīn, the principal merchants and the deputy (nāīb) of the Hindu sovereign, Qalāj by name. They had drums, trumpets bugles and standards on their ships. We entered the harbour in great pomp, such as I did not see elsewhere in these lands. But it was a joy to be followed by distress. We remained in the harbour of Calicut, where there were already thirteen vessels from China. We then went into the city and each of us was accommodated in a house. We remained there three months awaiting the day of our voyage to China. We were the guests of the idolatrous sovereign. Voyages in the Sea of China are made only in Chinese vessels, and now, we shall describe the arrangements relating to them.

TYPES OF CHINESE VESSELS

There are three kinds of Chinese vessels: 1. large ships, called *junks*; 2. middling ones called *zū-s* and 3. the smallest, *kakams*. On the large vessels there are three sails or more, up to a dozen. Their sails are made of cane reeds plaited together like mats; they are never lowered, but are turned about according to the direction of the wind. When the ships are anchored, the sails are allowed to float in the wind. Each of these ships is manned by a thousand men, six hundred sailors and four hundred soldiers among whom are archers, men armed with shields, and persons who throw naphtha. Each large vessel is followed by three smaller ones, a middle-sized, a third and a fourth sized. These vessels are built only in the city of Zaitūn in China or in Ṣain-kalān (Canton). This is how they build the ships: They erect two walls of wood and fill the interspace between them by means of very thick planks joined together along their length and breadth by large nails each three cubits long. When the two walls have been joined together by means of these planks, they lay on the bottom of the vessel and then push the whole of it out on the sea where the construction is finished. The planks and the two walls which touch the water serve the crew for washing and other needs. On the sides of these planks are found the oars which are as big as masts and are manipulated each

20. See n. 19 (ante.)

by ten or fifteen men together, standing. They make four decks on a vessel ; it contains chambers, cabins, and saloons for the merchants. Many of these cabins contain chambers and water closets. They have keys and their occupants lock them. They take their wives and concubines with them. It often happens that a man lives in his cabin unknown to any others on board till they meet on their arrival in some place.

The sailors' children live in these cabins. They grow vegetables, pulses and ginger in wooden tubs. The commander of a ship is like a great amīr ; when he disembarks, archers and Abyssinians march in front of him with javelins, swords, drums, bugles and trumpets. When he arrives at the inn where he is to live, they place their lances on either side of the door and continue to do so throughout his stay. Some of the Chinese own many ships on which they send their factors abroad; in the whole world there is no people richer than the Chinese.

BOOKING PASSAGE TO CHINA

When the time came for sailing to China, the Sultan, *i.e.*, the Zamorin, equipped for us one of the thirteen junks that were in the port of Calicut. The commander of the ship was one Sulaimān ul-Ṣafdi of Shām[21] already known to me. I said to him : 'I want a cabin all to myself and for my slave-girls as it is my rule never to travel without them.' He replied, 'The Chinese merchants have taken the cabins for the voyage both ways. My son-in-law has a cabin which I shall give you, but it has no lavatory ; it is possible that you may be able to exchange it for another.' I issued instructions to my companions, and they took on board all my luggage and the slaves, male and female. This was on a Thursday; I remained on shore to get through my Friday prayer and then join them. The Malik Sanbal and Ẓahīr-ud-dīn also embarked with the present. Meanwhile, Hilāl, a eunuch of mine, came to me on Friday morning and said: 'The cabin we have taken is very small and inconvenient.' I mentioned this to the captain of the ship, and he answered: 'It cannot be helped; but if you like to travel by the *Kakam*, you may have cabins of your choice.' I accepted this, and in accordance with my instructions my companions transported my slave girls and my luggage to the *Kakam* and settled there before prayer time on Friday. Now it is usual for the sea to become rough after four in the evening, and then no one can embark. All the junks had gone except the one which contained the present, one other

21. Shām is Syria or its capital Damascus.—N. V. R.

the owners of which had resolved to spend the winter at Fandarīnā, and the *Kakam* mentioned above. We spent the Friday night on the shore, not being able to embark on the *Kakam*, and those on the *Kakam* being unable to come to us. I had only a carpet with me to sleep on. On Saturday morning both the junk and the *Kakam* had drifted far from the port. The junk bound for Fandarīnā was dashed against rocks and wrecked; a part of the crew perished, the rest escaped. There was on this ship a slave girl well beloved of a merchant who offered ten pieces to any one who should save her. She had caught hold of a piece of wood at the back of the junk, and one of the sailors of Hormuz, in response to this appeal, rescued the young girl from danger; but he refused to receive the money, saying: 'I did it only out of the love of God!' When night came, the junk which carried the present was also dashed against the rocks, and all the men in it perished. The next morning we examined the spots where their bodies lay; I saw that Ẓahīr-ud-dīn had his head shattered, and that a nail had entered one of the temples of Sanbal and come out by the other; we prayed over their bodies and buried them. I saw the Hindu Sultan of Calicut, wearing a large white cloth round his waist from the navel down to the knees and a small turban on his head; he was bare-footed, and a parasol was held over his head by a young slave. A fire was lit before him on the beach, and his bodyguard were beating the people who were there to stop their stealing anything that the sea might cast up. The custom of Malabar is that every time there occurs a ship wreck, what is recovered goes to the treasury; this town is however an exception; indeed here the legitimate owners receive it, and this is why this city is flourishing and strangers come here in large numbers.

STORM

When the crew of the *Kakam* saw what had befallen the junk, they set sail and went away carrying all my property and slaves of both sexes. I was alone on the beach with only one slave whom I had enfranchised. When he saw what had happened to me, he left me, and I had nothing more with me than the ten pieces of gold which the yogi had given me and the carpet I had spread on the ground. The people there told me that the *Kakam* should necessarily enter the port of Kūlam (Quilon). I resolved then to go to this town, at a distance of ten days by land or by river[22]—if any one prefers this. I started by the river and engaged a Muslim for carrying my carpet. The custom of the Hindus, when they travel

22. Gibb rightly points out that there is no inland water-way leading right to Quilon from Calicut.

by this river; is to disembark in the evening and spend the night in villages on its banks; the next morning they get back to the boat. We did likewise. There was no Mussulman on the boat except the one I had in my employ. He drank wine with the infidels when we disembarked and behaved to me like a drunken man. This annoyed me greatly.

The fifth day after our departure we reached Kanji-kari on the peak of a mountain; it is inhabited by Jews who have one among themselves for their chief and pay a poll tax to the Sultan of Kūlam (Quilon).

All the trees found near this river are cinnamon and brazil. Here they are used as firewood, and during this voyage we cooked our food in fire lighted with this wood. On the tenth day we came to the town of Kūlam (Quilon), one of the most beautiful towns in Malabar. Its bazaars are splendid and its merchants are known as Ṣōlis.[23] They are very rich; any one of them will buy a vessel with its tackle and load it with merchandise from his own house. There are in Kūlam many Muhammadan merchants; their chief is 'Alā-ud-dīn Alāvji, native of Āvah in 'Irāq. He is a rāfiẓi (or partizan of 'Ali) and has friends who openly follow the same doctrine. The Qāẓī of Kūlam is a distinguished man from Qazwīn; the head of all the Muslims in this town is Muhammad Shah Bandar, the chief of the port, who has an excellent and generous brother, Taqī-ud-dīn. The principal mosque there is admirable; it was built by the merchant KHwāja Muhaẕẕab. Kūlam is, of all the towns of Malabar, the nearest to China, and most of the Chinese merchants come there. Mussulmans are honoured and respected there.

QUILON

The Sultan of Kūlam is an idolater, Tīrwarī (Tiruvaḍi) by name; he respects Muslims and severely punishes thieves and malefactors. I was an eyewitness to the following, among other events, at Kūlam; an archer from 'Irāq killed one of his companions and fled to the house of Alāvji. This murderer had enormous wealth. The Mussulmans wished to bury the victim, but the officers of the ruler stopped this saying: 'he should not be buried till you surrender his murderer who will be put to death to avenge him.' They left the body in the coffin in front of the Alāvji's house till it began to rot. Alāvji then delivered the assassin to the officers offering

23. This shows that the Tamils from this side of the Ghats had already begun to take part in the lucrative trade on the West coast.

I saw a stone strike one of the men near the Sultan. The men from the ships jumped into the water, with shields and swords in their hands. The Sultan got into an *'Akairy*, a kind of boat. I jumped into the water with the rest. There were near us two *tartans*[26] open abaft with horses in them. They are so constructed that a cavalier can mount his horse in them and put on his armour and then come out. It was thus that cavaliers were mounted on these two ships.

God granted the victory to the Mussulmans and Sandābūr was conquered. We entered the town at the point of the sword, and most of the infidels took refuge in the palace of their ruler. We fired the palace, and when they came out, we seized them. The Sultan spared their lives and restored to them their women and children. They were ten thousand in number, and they got a suburb of the city for their residence. The Sultan himself occupied the palace and gave the neighbouring houses to his courtiers. He gave me a young captive girl named Lemky, whom I called Mubāraka (blessed). Her husband wanted to buy her back, but I refused. The Sultan presented me a costly robe of Egyptian material found among the treasures of the infidel ruler. I stayed with the Sultan at Sandābūr from the day of the conquest, the 13th of the first Jumādī, to the middle of Sha'bān;[27] then I sought permission to leave, and he made me promise that I would come back to him.

VICTORY

I left by sea for Hanaur whence I went in succession to Fākanūr, Manjarūr, Hīly, Jurfattan, Dahfattan, Budfattan, Fandarīnā, Calicut —all places already mentioned. I then went to Shālyāt,[28] a most beautiful town, where they make the fabrics that go by its name. I stayed there long and then returned to Calicut. Two of my slaves who had embarked on the *Kakam* came to this town and informed me that the slave girl who was with child and for whom I was much concerned was dead; that the ruler of Jāvah[29] had appropriated the other slave girls; that my goods had become the booty of strangers; and that my comrades were dispersed in China, Jāvah and Bengal.[30]

BEYPORE

26. Small coasting vessels.
27. Three months roughly.
28. Modern Beypore, 6½ miles south of Calicut, according to Gibb, who suggests that the word 'Shawl' may be derived ultimately from the name of this town.—*Cf.* Yule, *ibid.*, p. 77-8.
29. Sumatra: Gibb.
30. The text has Banjāla.—N. V. R.

When I heard this, I returned to Hanaur and Sandābūr; I reached Sandābūr at the end of Muḥarram and stayed there till the second day of the month Rabī' II. The infidel Sultan of this town, against whom we had succeeded, now advanced to recapture the city, and all the infidels fled to his side. The troops of the Sultan were scattered in the villages and they abandoned us. The infidels besieged us and pressed us hard. When the situation became difficult, I came out of the town, still being besieged, and returned to Calicut. I made up my mind to go to Ẕībat-ul-Mahal (the Maldives) of which I had heard much. Ten days after we embarked at Calicut, we reached the islands of Ẕībat-ul-Mahal. Ẕībat figures as the feminine of ẕīb (wolf, in Arabic; it is an alteration from Sanskrit Dvīpa, island). These islands are among the most marvellous in the world and number nearly two thousand. About a hundred of these islands or a little less are found grouped together in a circle in the form of a ring; the whole group has one entrance like a gateway, and ships enter only by this. When a ship arrives near any one of these, it is absolutely necessary for it to take one of the inhabitants as a guide, in order that under his guidance it may cross to the other islands. They are all so close to one another that as soon as you leave one island the tops of the palms on another island become visible. If a vessel loses its course, it cannot enter these islands and the wind sweeps it to Ma'bar (Coromandel coast) or to Sīlān (Ceylon).

MALDIVES

The people in these islands are all Mussulmans, pious and honest. The islands are divided into regions or 'climates,' each ruled by a governor styled Kardūy. The regions are: 1. Bālbūr; 2. Kannalūs; 3. Mahal, which gives its name to all the islands and forms the residence of the sovereigns; 4. Talādīb; 5. Karāiduv; 6. Taīm; 7. Taldumtī, 8. Haldumtī, differing from the preceding only in the first letter; 9. Barīdu; 10. Kandakal; 11. Malūk; 12. Sawīd. The last is the farthest of all. All the Maldive islands are destitute of grains, except that a cereal resembling millet is grown in the region of Sawīd and transported thence to Mahal. The people subsist on a fish similar to *lairūn* and called Qulb-ul-mās.[31] It has red flesh; it has no fat, but it smells like mutton.. When they catch it, they cut each fish into four, cook it lightly and then place it in a palm-leaf basket and smoke it. They eat it when it is quite dry. From here it is also exported to India, China and Yemen.

FOOD

31. Pyrard calls it *Cobolly masse*, black fish.—S. and D.

Most of the trees on these islands are cocoa-palms; together with fish, they provide the subsistence of the people. The cocoa-palm is a marvellous tree. Each tree yields twelve clusters each year, one every month. Some are small, others large, some dry, the rest green, and this goes on continually. From the fruit they make milk, oil and honey. With its honey they make sweetmeats, pastries, eaten with dried cocoanuts. All the cocoanut foods and fish which the people here live on are a strong incentive to venery. The people of these islands are capable of surprising things in this line. I had in this country four wives, not to speak of concubines. I went round to all of them by day and spent the night with each one of them by turns; I lived like this for the year and half that I spent in the Maldives.

We find among the vegetal products of these islands the *Jamūn* (*Eugenia Jambu*), the citron, lemon and colocassia. The natives prepare a flour from the root of colocassia; from this flour they make a kind of vermicelli, which when cooked in cocoanut milk makes one of the best dishes known; I liked it very much.

PEOPLE

The people of the Maldive islands are honest and pious, of sincere faith and steady mind. They eat what is lawful, and their prayers are fulfilled. When one of them meets another, he says to him: 'God is my Lord, Muhammad is my prophet; I am a poor ignoramus.' Their bodies are weak; they do not engage in combats or warfare, and prayer is their weapon. One day, when I ordered the right hand of a thief to be cut off, many of the natives who were present in the court-room fainted. The pirates of India do not attack them, and cause them no fear, for they have found by experience that any one who takes anything of theirs soon encounters misfortune. When enemy ships come to this country, they seize the strangers whom they find there, but do no harm to any one of the natives. If an infidel takes something for himself, be it only a lemon, the chief of the infidels punishes him, and causes him to be beaten so severely that he dreads the results of the act. If it were otherwise, surely these people would be the most contemptible of men in the eyes of their aggressors, on account of the feebleness of their bodies. In each of their islands, there are beautiful mosques, and most of their buildings are of wood.

The islanders are a clean people; they avoid filth, and the majority bathe twice a day to keep clean because of the extreme heat of the climate and the profuse perspiration. They make much use of scented oils like that of sandalwood and anoint themselves

with musk got from Maqdashū.[31a] It is one of their habits that, after morning prayer, each woman goes to meet her husband or her son, with a box of collyrium, rose-water and the oil of musk; he applies the collyrium to his eyelashes, and rubs himself with rose-water and musk-oil, thus polishing his skin and removing all trace of fatigue from his countenance.

DRESS

The dress of these people consists of simple cloths; one they wear round their loins in the place of drawers, and others of material called *Ṣiyāb-ul-waliyān*[32] on their backs, as Muslim pilgrims wear the *iḥrām*. Some wear a turban while others substitute a small kerchief. When any one meets the Qāẓī or the preacher, he removes his garment from his shoulders exposing his back and thus accompanies him to his house. Another custom of theirs is this: when one of them marries and goes to his wife's house, she spreads, in his honour, cotton cloth on the ground from the threshold of her house to the nuptial chamber; she places handfuls of cowries on either side of his path, and herself stands expecting him near the entrance to the apartment. When he comes near her, she throws a cloth at his feet, which his servants take. If the woman goes to her husband's house, the same forms are observed by the husband. The same rule is observed by the people of these islands when they salute their sovereign, and it is absolutely necessary to throw cloth at his feet on such occasions.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

HOUSES

Their buildings are of wood and they take care to raise the floor of their houses well above the ground level as a precaution against humidity, for the soil is moist in these islands. They do this by employing cut stones of two or three cubits each in several rows and laying beams of cocoanut palms across; then they raise the walls with planks. They give evidence of very great skill in this work. In the vestibule of the house they build an apartment called *mālam* where the master of the house sits with his friends. This room has two doors, one opening on the vestibule by which strangers enter and the other on the side of the house by which the master of the house enters. Near this chamber there is a jar full of water, and a vessel called *walanj* made from the shell of the cocoanut. It has a handle two cubits long, and it is enough for raising water from the wells which are not deep.

31a. In E. Africa.
32. It probably means a protecting cloth.—N. V. R.

All the inhabitants of the Maldives, high and low, are barefooted; the streets there are swept very clean; they are shaded with trees, and to walk there is like walking in a garden. Still, it is essential for every person before entering a house to wash his feet with the water from the jar placed near the *mālam* and to rub them with a rough mat of palm-fibre which he finds there. Every body who enters a mosque also does likewise.

HOSPITALITY

When a vessel arrives, usually the people of the neighbouring island come in small boats bringing betel and cocoanut to meet the visitors; each one offers these to whomsoever he likes among the persons on the ship, and thus becomes his host, and carries to his house the goods belonging to his guest as if he were one of his near relatives. Any one among the newcomers that wants to marry may do so, on condition that at the time of his departure he divorces his wife, for the people of Maldives never leave their country. If a person does not marry, his food is cooked and served by the lady of the house where he lodges, and she supplies him the provisions for his journey at the time of his departure; in return for all of which she is content to receive the smallest present from him. The gain to the treasury, called *bandar*, consists in the right to purchase a certain portion of all the merchandise in the vessel at a fixed price, whether it is worth that or more; they call this the law of *bandar*. This *bandar* has, in each island a wooden warehouse where the governor, *i.e.*, the *Kardūry*, gathers, buys, and barters all the merchandise. The natives buy earthenware with poultry, and one pot will fetch five or six chickens here.

EXPORTS

From these islands are exported fish, as already mentioned, cocoanuts, cloths, *waliyān* and cotton turbans. Also brass vessels commonly used by the natives, cowries and *qanbar* i.e., fibrous rind of the cocoanut. The natives macerate this rind in pits dug on the seashore and then beat it with mallets; then the women spin it; they make thread from it for sewing together the planks of ships and export it to China, India and Yemen in the form of ropes. The *qanbar* is better than hemp. It is with such cords that the ships of India and Yemen are sewn; for the Indian ocean is full of rocks; and if a vessel joined with iron nails strikes against a rock it would fall to pieces, whereas if it is sewn with cords it gains a certain elasticity and does not break.

The inhabitants of these islands use cowries as their money. This is the name of an animal (a mollusc) which is got from the

sea and deposited in pits dug on the shore. Its flesh disappears and only its white shell remains. A hundred of these shells is called *syāh,* and seven hundred *fāl*; 12,000 COWRIES form a *kuttāi,* and 100,000 a *bustu.* They settle accounts in the bazaar with these cowries on the basis of four *bustu* for a gold *dinar.* They often fall in price so that twelve *bustu* are sold for a *dinar.* The islanders sell them to the people of Bengal[33] in exchange for rice, for cowries are used as money also there. They are sold also to the Yemenites who use them as ballast for their ships in the place of sand. These cowries form the medium of exchange among the negroes also in their native country. I saw them sold at Māly and at Jūjū (Gogo) on the basis of 1150 for a gold *dinar.*

The women of these isles do not cover their heads, not even their queen. They comb their hair and gather it on one side. Most of them wear only one cloth which covers them from the navel downwards; the rest WOMEN of the body remains bare. It is in this dress that they walk about in the bazaars and elsewhere. When I held the office of Qāẓī in these isles, I made efforts to put an end to this habit and to get them to clothe themselves, but I could not succeed. No woman was admitted to my presence in a case unless her body was covered; but beyond this I could do nothing against this usage. Some women wear, in addition to the cloth, a chemise with short and broad sleeves. I had some slave girls who dressed like the inhabitants of Delhi. They covered their heads, but this rather disfigured than adorned them, as they were not used to it.

The women of Maldives adorn themselves with bracelets, covering both their arms with these from wrist to elbow. These jewels are of silver ; only the wives of the Sultan and his relations wear bracelets of gold. They have also anklets, and golden collars round their necks. One of their singular habits is to seek employment as household servants for a fixed wage of not more than five dinars, their maintenance being also a charge on their employer. They do not consider this dishonourable and most of the girls follow this practice. You find ten or twenty such girls in a rich man's house. Each servant is charged with the cost of any vessels broken by her. When a girl wishes to change from one house to another, her new master lends her the sum she owes to her former employer, and she remits it to him. The chief occupation of these hired women is to spin *qanbar.*

33. See n. 30 (ante).

It is easy to get married in these islands because of the smallness of the dowry and the approval with which intercourse with women is viewed. Most men say nothing about the nuptial gift; they are satisfied with pronouncing the creed of Islam and giving a nuptial gift in conformity with law. When ships arrive, their crews marry wives, and they divorce them before their departure; it is a sort of temporary marriage. The women of Maldives never leave their country. I have not seen any place in the world where the company of women is more agreeable. In the native households, the wife does not entrust to any one the task of serving her husband; she serves his food, cleans up after his meal, and washes his hands; she offers him water for his ablutions and she covers his feet when he goes to sleep. The wife never eats with her husband, and no man knows what his wife eats. I married several women when I was there; some of them ate with me at my request, others refused so that I never succeeded in my efforts to see them at their table.

TEMPORARY MARRIAGE

The motive for which the people of these islands embraced Islam; description of evil spirits which caused damage to them every month:

Trustworthy men among the inhabitants of the Maldives, such as the theologian 'Īsā of Yemen, the theologian and professor 'Aly, the Qāẓī 'Abd-ul-lah and others told me that the people of these islands were idolaters, and that there appeared before them every month an evil spirit, from among the spirits that came from the sea. It resembled a vessel full of lights. The custom of the natives who saw this was to get hold of a young virgin, adorn her and conduct her to a *butkhānah*,[34] i.e., an idol temple, which was built on the beach and had a window through which she could be seen. There they left her for a night, and came back in the morning; then they found the young girl deflowered and dead. They did not miss drawing lots each month, and whoever had his name chosen gave up his daughter. Later on there arrived in that place a Maghribī called Ab-ul-Barkāt, the Berber, who knew the illustrious Quran by heart. He stayed in the house of an old woman in the island Mahal. One day when he visited his hostess, he found that she had gathered her family together and that these women wept as if they had gone to a funeral. He questioned them on the subject of their sorrow, but they did not tell him the cause. A dragoman turned up and informed him that the lot had fallen on the old lady, and that she had only one daughter whom the evil

34. *but*=idol; *khānah*=house.—N. V. R.

spirit would kill. Ab-ul-Barkāt told the old lady: "I shall go to-night in the place of your daughter." Now he was completely without a beard, and they brought him in the night and left him within the temple after he had finished his ablutions. He started to recite the Quran; then he perceived the demon by the window and continued his recitation. As soon as the demon came within hearing distance, he plunged into the sea, and when morning came, the Maghribī was still engaged in reciting the Quran. The old woman, her family and the people of the island came as usual to remove the body of the girl and burn it. They saw the stranger who recited the Quran and took him to their king, called Shinūrāzah,[35] and reported to him this occurrence. The king was astonished at it; the Maghribī bade him embrace Islam and roused in him the desire to do so. Shinūrāzah told him; "Remain with me for a month, and if you repeat once more what you have done and escape the evil spirit, I shall change my faith." The stranger lived among the idolaters, and God ordained that the king receive the true faith. He became a Muslim before the end of the month, as also his wives, children and his courtiers. When the next month began, the Maghribī was conducted to the temple of idols; but the demon did not come, and the Berber recited the Quran till the morning. The Sultan and his subjects came in the morning and found him thus engaged. They broke the idols and demolished the temple. The people of the island embraced Islam and sent messengers to the other islands, the inhabitants of which were also converted. The Maghribī remained among these people greatly esteemed by them. The natives began to profess his doctrine which was that of the Imām Malik. Even to-day, they venerate the Maghribīs because of him. He built a mosque, which is known under his name. I read the following inscription engraved on wood on the grilled tribune of the great mosque: "The Sultan Ahmad Shinūrāzah has embraced Islam at the hands of Ab-ul-Barkāt, the Berber, and the Maghribī." This Sultan has assigned a third of the imposts on these islands as alms to the travellers in recognition of his having embraced Islam by their intervention. This portion of the taxes still bears a name which recalls this circumstance.

Because of the demon spoken of here, many of the islands of the Maldives were depopulated before their conversion to Islam. When we entered the country, I had no knowledge of this event. One night, when I was attending to my business, I suddenly heard

35. Probably Chinarāja.—N. V. R.

the people reciting in a high voice the formulas: "There is no god but God" and "God is Almighty." I saw children carrying the Quran on their heads, and women who struck on basins and vases of copper. I was surprised at what they did, and I said: "What has happened to you?" They replied: "Have you not looked at the sea?" I then turned to the sea and noticed a kind of a great ship seemingly full of lamps and stoves. They told me: "It is the demon; it generally appears once a month. But when we do what you see us doing, it goes back and does no harm to us."

One of the wonders of these islands is that they have a woman for their ruler, viz., KHadījah, daughter of Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn 'Umar, son of Sultan Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn Ṣāliḥ-ul-Bangāli.[36] The kingship belonged at first to her grandfather, then to her father, and when he died, her brother Shahāb-ud-dīn became king. He was a minor, and the vazīr, 'Abd-ul-lah, son of Muhammad-ul-Ḥaẓramy[37] married the prince's mother, and gained control over him. The same man later married Sulṭānah KHadījah on the death of her first husband, the vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn, as we shall see. When Shahab-ud-dīn came of age, he drove out his step-father, the vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah, and exiled him to the islands of Suwaīd. He remained sole master, chose a freedman named 'Ali Kalky as Vazīr whom he dismissed at the end of three years and exiled to Suwaīd. Shahāb-ud-dīn, however, was a libertine who went out every night to meet the wives of his officers and courtiers, and so he was deposed and deported to the region of Haldatany, where he was put to death soon after.

QUEEN

The only survivors of the royal family were the sisters of the late monarch, KHadījah, the eldest, Miriam and Fāṭimah. The people raised to the throne KHadījah, who was married to their preacher Jamāl-ud-dīn who become vazīr and real master of the state, and promoted his son Muhammad to the place of preacher, vacated by him; but orders are issued only in the name of KHadījah. They write these on palm leaves with a curved iron tool resembling a knife. They write on paper only copies of the Quran and scientific treatises. The preacher mentions the Sulṭānah in the prayers on Fridays and other days in these terms. "My god, succour thy servant whom thou in thy knowledge hast preferred over other mortals, and whom thou hast made the instru-

36. Probably Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn Ṣāliḥ hailed from Banjāla, i.e., Bengal.—N.V.R.

37. Ḥaẓramy, of the tribe or province or city of Ḥaẓramaut in Yemen in Arabia.—N. V. R.

ment of thy' grace towards all Mussulmans, that is to say, the Sulṭānah KHadījah, daughter of the Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn, son of Sultan Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn."

When a stranger arrives among these people and visits the hall of audience, called *dar,* custom requires that he should take two cloths with him. He makes an obeisance to the Sulṭānah, and throws down one of the two cloths; then he salutes her vazīr, who is also her husband, Jamāl-ud-dīn, and throws down the second cloth. The army of this Sulṭānah comprises a thousand foreigners, though some of the soldiers are natives. They come every day to the hall of audience, salute her, and go back. Their pay consists of rice which is supplied to them every month at the *bandar.* At the end of the month, they come to the hall of audience, salute the vazīr, and tell him: "Convey our homages to the sovereign and inform her that we have come to ask for our pay"; thereupon the necessary orders are issued. The Qāẓī and the officials, who bear the title 'vazīrs' in this country, also present themselves every day in the audience hall. They make an obeisance and depart after the eunuchs have transmitted their homage to the sovereign.

HALL OF AUDIENCE

The people of the Maldives call the supreme vazīr, lieutenant of the Sulṭānah, Kalky; and the Qāẓi, Fandayārqālwā. All sentences proceed from Qāẓī, who is treated with greater respect than all the other officials, and whose orders are carried out like those of the Sultan, or even better. He sits on a carpet in the court hall; he receives the income from three islands for his own use, in accordance with an old custom established by Sultan Ahmad Shinūrāzah. The preacher is called *Handījary,* the chief of the treasury *Fāmaldāry,* the receiver-general of finances *Māfākalwā,* the Magistrate of police *Fatnāyak* and the admiral *Mānāyak.* All these persons have the title of vazīr. There is no prison in these islands; culprits are shut up in wooden houses meant for the storage of merchandise, each being confined in a wooden cell like the Christian prisoners of Morocco.

OFFICERS

When I arrived in this country, I disembarked on the island of Kannalūs, a fine island with many mosques. I put up in the house of one of the most pious inhabitants. The theologian 'Aly gave me a feast; he was a distinguished man; he had sons who devoted themselves to study. I met a man called Muhammad, native of Ẓafār-ul-Ḥumūẓ, who entertained me and told me: 'If

KANNALUS

you enter the island of Mahal, the vazīr will detain you by force, for the people have no Qāẓī there.' Now my plan was to go from there to Ma'bar (Coromandel coast), Sarandīb (Ceylon) and Bengal, and thence to Ṣīn (China). I came to the Maldives in a vessel of the captain 'Umar-ul-hanaury who was among the virtuous pilgrims. We spent six days at Kannalūs; then he engaged a small boat for going to the isle of Mahal with a present to the sovereign and her husband. I wished to go with him, but he said: 'The boat is not large enough to take you and your companions; if you will come without them, you may do so.' I declined this offer, and 'Umar went away. But the wind was against him, and after four days, he returned much fatigued. He made excuses to me, and entreated me to accompany him with my companions.

TAIM

We set sail in the morning and reached some island by midday; we sailed thence and spent the night on another island. After sailing for four days, we reached the region of Taīm, where Hilāl was governor. He saluted me, gave me a feast, and then came to see me with four men, two of whom carried on their shoulders a pole from which four chickens were suspended, while the two others carried similar poles with about ten cocoanuts tied to them. I was surprised at the value they set on these miserable objects, but I learned that they acted like this out of consideration and regard.

We left these people, and disembarked on the sixth day in the island of Uṣmān, a great and good man. He received us with honour and entertained us suitably. On the eighth day we put into port in an island belonging to the vazīr Talamdy. At last on the tenth day we came to the Mahal island where the Sulṭānah

MAHAL

and her husband dwelt, and we entered the port. It is the rule here that no one is allowed to disembark without the permission of the inhabitants. They gave us permission, and I wished to go to some mosque; but the slaves who were on the shore stopped me saying that it was essential to visit the vazīr. I had enjoined the captain to plead ignorance if he was questioned about me; this I did lest they should detain me; for I did not know that an ill-advised gossip had written to them about me that I had been Qāẓī at Delhi. When we reached the court hall, we sat on the benches placed near the third door from the entrance. The Qāẓī, 'Īsā-ul-Yemeny, turned up and saluted me. On my side I saluted the vazīr. The captain of the ship Ibrāhīm (called 'Umar elsewhere) brought ten pieces of cloth, made a salute to the sovereign

and threw down one of these cloths; then he bent his knee in honour of the vazīr and threw down another cloth, and so on to the last. They asked him about me, and he said 'I do not know him.'

RECEPTION

Then they gave us betel and rosewater, a mark of honour among these people. The vazīr put us up in a house, and sent us food consisting of a large basinful of rice and other plates of meat salted and dried in the sun, chickens, ghee and fish. The next day I went with the captain of the ship and the Qāẓī 'Īsā-ul-Yemeny to visit a hermitage founded at the extremity of the island by the virtuous Shaikh Najīb. We returned by night, and the next morning the vazīr sent me a robe and meal comprising the same items as before, and cocoanuts and honey extracted from them which the islanders called *qurbāny*, 'sugar water'. They brought also 100,000 cowries for my expenses. At the end of ten days, there came a vessel from Ceylon which carried Arab and Persian fakirs who knew me and who told the servants of the vazīr all about me; this greatly increased the joy he experienced at my arrival. He sent for me at the commencement of the Ramẓān. I found the chiefs and the vazīr already gathered there, and food was being served on tables each taken up by a number of friends. The grand vazīr seated me by his side along with the Qāẓī 'Īsā, the vazīr *Fāmaldāri* or chief of the treasury, and the vazīr 'Umar *dahard, i.e.*, the general of the army. The meal of these islanders consists of rice, chicken, ghee, fish and flesh salted and dried in the sun, and cooked banana. After food they drink the wine of cocoanut palm mixed with spices for promoting digestion. On the ninth day of Ramẓān, the son-in-law of the vazīr died. His wife, the daughter of this minister, had already been married to Sultan Shahāb-ud-dīn, but neither of her husbands had lived with her on account of her tender age. The vazīr, her father, took her back into his house and gave me her house which was one of the best. I asked for permission to entertain the fakirs who had returned after a pilgrimage to the Foot of Adam in the island of Ceylon. He gave me the permission and sent me five sheep, rare animals on these islands, as they are imported from Ma'bar, Malabar, and Maqdashū. The vazīr sent me also rice, chicken, ghee and spices. I had all these things carried to the house of vazīr Sulaimān, the *Mānāyak* (admiral), who added more to them and had them cooked with the greatest care and also sent me carpets and brass vessels. We broke the fast, according to custom, in the palace of the Sulṭānah, with the grand vazīr, and I begged him to allow some of the vazīrs to assist me at my feast.

FAKIRS ENTERTAINED

He told me that he would himself come there, and I thanked him duly and came back to my house; but he had already come with the vazīrs and the magnates of the court. He was seated in a high wooden pavilion. All who came, chiefs or vazīrs, saluted the grand vazīr and threw before him a piece of unsewn cloth, so that the total of such cloths was nearly a hundred, and these the fakirs took. The food was then served and eaten; then the readers of the Quran gave a reading with their fine voices after which they began to chant and dance. I had a fire made, and the fakirs entered it and trod upon it with their feet; some among them swallowed burning charcoal as one eats sweets, till the flame died out.

SLAVE GIRLS

When the night came to an end the vazīr returned, and I accompanied him. We passed by a garden belonging to the treasury and the vazīr said to me: 'This garden is yours; I shall have a house built there for you to live in.' I praised his action and prayed for his welfare. The next day he sent me a slave-girl and his messenger told me: 'The vazīr wants me to tell you that if this girl pleases you, she is yours; else he will send you a Mahratha girl.' I like Mahratha girls, and so I replied to the messenger: 'I want only Mahrathas.' The minister had one sent to me by name Gulistān which means, 'flower of the garden,' (or, more exactly, 'flower-garden.') She knew Persian and pleased me very much. The people of Maldive islands speak a language I cannot understand.

The next day the vazīr sent me a young slave-girl from Coromandel, called 'Anbarī (colour of ambergris) i.e., black. The following night, after prayer, he came to my house with some of his servants, and entered it with two small slaves. I saluted him and he asked me how I fared. I prayed for his happiness and thanked him. One of the slaves placed before him a *luqshah* (*buqshah*) *i.e.*, a kind of leather bag, from which he took out silk cloths and a casket containing pearls and jewels. The vazīr presented them to me, and added: "If I had sent you this with the slave-girl, she might have said—'this is my property, I brought from my master's house.' Now these things belong to you and you may present them to her." I prayed to God for the minister's good and rendered thanks to him as he deserved.

The vazīr Sulaimān, the *Mānāyak*, proposed that I should marry his daughter; I sent to ask of the vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn permission to contract this marriage. My messenger returned and said; "This proposal is not to his liking as he wants you to marry

DEPARTURE PLANNED AND PREVENTED

his daughter when the legal period of her widowhood comes to an end." I refused to agree to this union out of fear for the bad luck attaching to the daughter of the grand vazīr as both her husbands had died before consummating their marriage with her. Meanwhile, I fell ill and had a bad fever; for every one who enters these islands invariably catches fever. I took a firm resolve to leave the country; I sold a part of my jewels for cowries and engaged a vessel for sailing to Bengal. When I went to take leave of the vazīr, the Qāẓī came to meet me and said in the name of the vazīr: 'If you wish to go, give back to us what we have given you, and then go.' I answered, 'With some of the jewels I have bought cowries, you may do what you like with them.' After some time the Qāẓī returned; 'the vazīr,' he reported, 'says we gave you gold and not cowries.' 'Very well,' said I, 'I shall sell them and return your gold.' As a result, I sent asking the merchants to buy the cowries from me, but the vazīr ordered them not to do so; for he meant thus to prevent my departure from his country. Afterwards he sent me one of his friends to say: 'The vazīr wants me to tell you that if you stay with us you will have all you want.' I said to myself: "I am in their power; if I will not stay with good grace, I shall have to do so by constraint; a voluntary stay is much the better." And I told the messenger: 'Very well, I shall stay with him.' He returned to his master who was greatly pleased at my answer, and sent for me. When I entered his house, he got up, embraced me and said: 'We wish you to be near us, and you wish to go away!' I made my excuses to him which he accepted, and I told him: 'If you wish me to stay, I shall make conditions.' The vazīr replied, 'state them and we shall accept.' I said: 'I cannot walk on foot.' Now it is the custom of the country that no one rides a horse unless he be a vazīr. When they gave me a horse and I rode on it, the people, men and children, began to follow me in amazement, till at last I had to complain of it to the vazīr. He caused it to be proclaimed by beat of *danqurah* that no one should follow me; the *danqurah* is a kind of brass basin which is beaten with an iron rod and is heard far; after beating it, they proclaim in public what they want.

The vazīr told me: 'If you would ride in a palanquin, it would be very good; else, we have a horse and a mare; choose whichever you like.' I chose the mare, and they brought her to me at once, along with a robe. I asked the vazīr: 'what shall I do with the cowries I have bought?' He replied: 'Send one of

your companions to sell them in Bengal.' 'I shall do so,' said I, 'if you will send some one to assist him in the work.' 'Yes', he replied. I then sent my companion, Abu Muhammad, son of Farḥān, with whom they sent a man named the pilgrim 'Aly.[38] Now the sea was rough, and the crew threw overboard all the cargo including the mast, the water and all other provisions meant for the journey. For sixteen days they were without sail or rudder, and after having endured hunger and thirst and fatigues, they reached the island of Ceylon. At the end of a year, my companion Abu Muhammad returned to me after visiting the Foot (of Adam).

At the end of the month of Ramẓān, the vazīr sent me a robe, and we went to the place set apart for prayers. The way from the minister's house to this place was decorated; cloth was spread (on the ground) and heaps of cowries placed to the right and left. All those among the amīrs and nobles who owned houses on the way had caused small cocoanut palms to be planted near them together with areca palms and bananas. Ropes had been stretched from tree to tree and green cocoanuts suspended from them. The master of the house stood near the door and, when the vazīr passed, threw at his feet a cloth of silk or cotton. The slaves of the minister picked them up as well as the cowries placed on his route. The vazīr walked on foot, wearing an ample robe of wool, of Egyptian make, and a large turban. He wore a silk napkin as his scarf; four parasols sheltered his head, and there were sandals on his feet. All the others, without exception, had bare feet. Trumpets, clarions and kettle-drums preceded him; the soldiers marched before and after him crying: 'God is great,' till they reached the place of prayer.

When prayer was finished, the vazīr's son preached; then they brought a litter and the minister got into it. The amīrs and the other vazīrs saluted him and threw pieces of cloth according to custom. In former times the grand vazīr never went in a litter and only the kings did so. The litter was then lifted by porters, I mounted my horse, and we went to the palace. The minister sat on a raised seat, and there were vazīrs and amīrs near him. The slaves were standing with shields, swords and batons in their hands. Then they served food, and afterwards arecanut and betel; then they brought a small bowl containing sandal *maqdāṣary*. As soon as a party finish their dinner, they smear themselves with sandal. That day I saw over some of their food a fish of a species of Sardine, salted and uncooked, which had been sent to them as

38. Al-Hajj Ali—Gibb.

a present from Kūlam (Quilon). This fish is plentiful on the Malabar coast, the vazīr took a sardine and started eating it, saying to me at the same time: 'eat this, it is not found in our country.' I replied: 'how shall I eat it; it is not cooked.' 'It is cooked,' he answered; but I replied: 'I know this fish well, for it abounds in my country.'

Of my marriage and my nomination as Qāẓī

On the second day of *Shawwāl,* I agreed with the vazīr Sulaimān *Mānāyak* or admiral, that I would marry his daughter; and I sent to ask of vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn that the marriage should take place in his presence, in the palace. He agreed to this, and sent betel and sandal according to custom. People were ready for the ceremony, but the vazīr Sulaimān delayed; they sent for him, but still he did not come. He was sent for a second time, and he excused himself on the score of the illness of his daughter. But the grand vazīr told me in private: "His daughter has refused to marry, and she is the mistress of her own actions. There are the people assembled, and how do you like marrying the step-mother of the Sulṭānah?" (The son of the grand vazīr had married the daughter of this woman). I replied: "O! certainly." He summoned the Qāẓī and the notaries. The profession of Mussulman faith was recited, and the vazīr gave the nuptial gift. After a few days, she was brought to me. She was one of the best of women. Such was the excellence of her manners, that when I became her husband, she anointed me with good scents and perfumed my garments; laughing all the while and showing no signs of inconvenience to her.

After I married this woman, the vazīr forced me to accept the functions of Qāẓī. The reason for my nomination was that I had reproached the Qāẓī for his taking the tenth part of all inheritances when he divided them among the parties entitled to them. I told him: "You should take only a fee fixed with the consent of the heirs." And this judge did nothing properly. When I took up the functions of judge, I spent all my efforts to enforce the precepts of the law. The law-suits do not take place there as in our country. The first bad custom that I reformed related to the stay of divorced women in the house of those who had repudiated them; for each of these women continued to live in the house of her former husband, till she married another. I prevented their doing this on any account. About twenty-five men who had behaved like this were brought to me; I had them whipped and paraded in the market place; and as for the women, I forced them to leave

the houses of these men. Afterwards, I strove to secure the strict observance of the prayers, and ordered the men to go quickly in the streets and bazaars immediately after the Friday prayer. Anyone who was discovered not having prayed, I had beaten and paraded in public. I compelled the imāms and mu'ẓẓins holding fixed appointments to perform their duties assiduously; I wrote in the same sense to the magistrates of all the islands. Lastly, I tried to make the women wear clothes; but I did not succeed in this.

On the arrival of vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah, son of Muhammad ul-Ḥaẓramy, whom the Sultan Shahāb-ud-dīn had exiled to Sawaīd; narrative of what passed between us:

I had espoused the step-daughter of this man, the daughter of his wife, and I loved her greatly. When the grand vazīr recalled him to the isle of Mahal, I sent him presents, went to meet him and accompanied him to the palace. He saluted the supreme vazīr who lodged him in a superb mansion where I visited him often. It happened that I spent the month of Ramẓān in prayers, and all people visited me except 'Abd-ul-lah. The vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn himself came to see me, and 'Abd-ul-lah with him, to bear him company. An enmity arose between us. For when I came out of the retreat, the maternal uncles of my wife, the step-daughter of 'Abd-ul-lah, complained to me. They were the sons of the vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn ul-Sanjary. Their father had named vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah as their guardian, and their properties were still in his hands, though, according to law, they had come out of his tutelage. They demanded his appearance before the tribunal. I had a rule, when I summoned one of the opposing parties of sending him a piece of paper with or without writing. As soon as they knew of it, they came to the tribunal; or else I punished them. I sent then a paper to 'Abd-ul-lah as usual with me. This procedure made him very angry, and because of it he conceived a hatred against me. He concealed his enmity, and asked some one to speak in his place. Dishonest statements were repeated to me as having been made by him.

The custom of the islanders, weak or strong, was to salute the vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah in the same manner as the vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn. Their salutation consists in touching the ground with the forefinger, and then kissing the finger and placing it on the head. I gave order to the public crier, and he proclaimed it in the palace of the sovereign, in the presence of witnesses, that all persons who rendered homage to vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah in the same way as to the grand vazīr would incur severe punishment. I required him to

bind himself no more to allow people to do this. His enmity to me was aggravated by this. Meanwhile, I married yet another wife, daughter of a vazîr, much respected by the islanders, and a descendant of Sultan Dâûd, grandson of Sultan Ahmad Shinûrâzah; then I married another who had been married to Sultan Shahâb-ud-dîn, and I had three mansions constructed in the garden given to me by the vazîr. As to my fourth wife, who was the step-daughter of the vazîr 'Abd-ul-lah she lived in her own house. She was the best loved of them all. When I had contracted these marriages, the vazîr and the people of the island began to fear me much, because of their weakness. False rumours were carried to me and to the chief vazîr, largely owing to the exertions of vazîr 'Abd-ul-lah, so that a definite estrangement came between us.

On my separation from these persons and the motive of it

One day it happened that the wife of a slave of the late Sultan Jamâl-ud-dîn complained about him to the vazîr, telling him that the slave was found having adulterous intercourse with a concubine of the Sultan. The vazîr sent witnesses who entered the house of the young man, found the slave sleeping with her on the same carpet, and imprisoned them. Next morning I heard the news, and went to the hall of audience, and took my seat as usual. I did not say a word about this affair. A courtesan came near me and said: "The vazîr sent me to ask you if you need anything." I replied: "No." The idea of the minister was that I should speak of the affair of the concubine and the slave; for it was my rule that no case came before me without my judging it. But as I disliked and hated him, I omitted to do this. I then returned to my house, and sat in the place where I pronounced my sentences. Forthwith there came a vazîr, who told me, on behalf of the grand vazîr: "Yesterday such and such a thing happened on account of the affair of the concubine and the slave; deal with them as the law requires." I answered: "This is a case in which it is not proper to pronounce judgement outside the Sultan's palace." Then I went back there, the people assembled, and the concubine and the slave were summoned. I ordered both to be beaten on account of their *tête-à-tête*, and caused the woman to be set free and the slave to be imprisoned; after this, I returned to my house.

The vazîr sent me several of his principal servants to ask me to set the slave free. I told them: "You intercede with me in favour of a negro slave who has violated the honour of his master, and but yesterday, you yourselves deposed the Sultan Shahâb-ud-

dīn and killed him, because he had entered the house of one of his slaves!" And at once I ordered the culprit to be beaten with bamboo sticks (which have greater effect than whipping) and paraded through all the island with a cord round his neck. The messengers of the vazīr went and told him what happened. He showed great excitement and was roused to great anger. He assembled the other vazīrs and commanders of the army, and sent for me. I went, and, without making the usual salutation, bending my knee, I just said: 'Salutation to you.' Then I said to those present: "Be my witnesses, that I resign the functions of Qāẓī because of my inability to perform them." The vazīr having addressed me, I mounted (the dais) and seated myself in a place where I was face to face with him; then I answered in the firmest possible manner. Meanwhile the mu'ẕẕin called for the sunset prayer, and the grand vazīr entered his house saying: "It is said that I am sovereign; now I summoned this man in order to vent my anger on him, and he vented his on me." The islanders showed me respect only because of the Sultan of India, for they know the esteem in which he holds me; and though they are at a great distance from him, there is great fear of him in their hearts.

When the grand vazīr entered his house, he sent for the Qāẓī who had been removed from office. He was eloquent and addressed me as follows: "Our master asks why, in the presence of witnesses, you failed to show him the respect that was his due, and why you did not render him homage"; I answered: "I saluted him only when my heart was satisfied with him; but as I am now dissatisfied, I have given up doing so. The salutation of Muslims consists only in the word *salām*, and this I said." The vazīr sent this man a second time to me when he said: "Your object is just to leave us; pay the dowries of your wives and what you owe to the men, and then go if you will." On hearing this, I bowed, went to my house, and cleared the debts I had contracted. In those days the vazīr had given me carpets, and other personal property comprising copper vessels and other objects. In fact he gave me everything I asked for, loved me and treated me with consideration; but he changed his mind, and had his fears roused regarding me.

When he heard that I had paid my debts and was preparing to go, he repented of what he had said, and put off giving me permission for my departure. I swore the most solemn oaths that it was absolutely essential for me to resume my voyage, and carried whatever I had to a mosque on the sea-coast, and divorced one of my wives. Another was with child, and I fixed a term of nine

months for her within which I was to come back; if I defaulted, she would be free to act as she liked. I took with me the wife that had formerly been married to Sultan Shahāb-ud-dīn in order to restore her to her father who lived in Mulūk island, and my first wife whose daughter was the consanguineous sister of the Sulṭānah.

I made a compact with the vazīr 'Umar *dahard* (or general of the army), and the vazīr Ḥasan, admiral, that I should go to the country of Ma'bar (Coromandel), the king of which was my brother-in-law,[39] and return from there with troops to bring the islands under his power, and that afterwards I should exercise authority in his name. I arranged that the hoisting of white flags on the ships was to serve as the signal between them and me; the moment they saw these, they were to rise in revolt on the island. I had never aimed at this till the day of my estrangement from the vazīr. He dreaded me and told the people: "Quite sure, this man will seize the vazīrate either in my life time or after my death." He used to ask many questions concerning me, and said: "I have heard that the king of India has sent him money to enable him to stir up trouble against me." He feared my departure, lest I should return with troops from the Coromandel coast. He sent word to me to wait till he could fit out a ship for me, but I refused.

The consanguineous sister of the Sulṭānah complained to her of the departure of her mother with me. The Sulṭānah wished to stop this, but could not do so. When she found her resolved to leave, she told her: "All the jewels you had were made from the money belonging to the customs house. If you have evidence to show that Jalāl-ud-dīn gave them to you, well and good; else, return them." These jewels were of great value; nevertheless, my wife gave them back. The vazīrs and chiefs came to me while I was in the mosque, and begged me to return. I answered them: "If I had not sworn, certainly, I should return." They rejoined: "Go then to some other island that you may keep your oath, and then come back," to which I agreed in order to please them. When the day of my departure came, I went to bid farewell to the vazīr. He embraced me and wept so much that his tears fell on my feet. He spent the following night guarding the island himself out of fear that my relatives by marriage and my friends would rise against him.

At last I left the island and reached that of the vazīr 'Aly. My wife was attacked by a severe pain, and she wanted to go back. I

39. 'Husband of my wife's sister.'—Gibb.

divorced her and left her there, and I wrote about this to the vazīr, for she was the mother of his son's wife. I also divorced the wife for whom I had fixed a term (for my return) and I sent for a young slave whom I loved. Meanwhile we continued the voyage in the midst of these islands, passing one district after another.

Of the women who have only one breast:

In one of these isles, I saw a woman who had only one breast. She was the mother of two daughters, one of these resembling her completely, and the other had two breasts, one large and containing milk, while the other was small and had no milk. I was surprised by the form of these women.

Then we reached another of these islands, a small island with only one house in it, occupied by a weaver, who was married and father of a family. He had small cocoanut palms and a small boat which he used for fishing and for going to any of the islands at his pleasure. On his islet there were also some small bananas; we found no land birds there except two crows which flew towards us when we came and made a circle above our vessel. I really envied this man, and wished that his island had been mine, for me to retire in it and await the inevitable end of my time.

MULUK

Then I came to the island of Mulūk, where a ship belonging to Captain Ibrāhīm was lying. I resolved to go in this ship to the Coromandel coast. This man visited me with his companions, and they entertained me at a fine feast. The vazīr had written to the effect that I was to be given in this island one hundred and twenty *bustu* of cowries, and twenty goblets of cocoanut-palm-wine, and each day a certain amount of betel, areca-nut and fish. I spent seventy days in Mulūk, and married two wives. Mulūk is among the most beautiful islands, verdant and fertile. Among the marvels of the island, I noticed that a branch cut from any tree and planted on the earth or on a wall, soon became covered with leaves and grew into a tree. I saw also that the pomegranate bore fruit throughout the year. The people of the island feared that Captain Ibrāhīm might plunder them at the time of his departure. As a result they wished to seize all the weapons on his ship and keep them till the day of his departure. A dispute arose on this account, and we returned to Mahal where we did not land. I wrote to the vazīr to tell him what had happened. He sent a letter to the effect that it was not right to have seized the arms of the crew. We then returned to Mulūk, and again set sail from there in the

middle of the month of Rabī' II of the year 745[40] (26th August 1344). In the month of Sha'bān of the same year (December, 1344), the vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn died. The Ṣulṭānah was pregnant, and was delivered after his death. The vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah married her. As for us, we sailed without a trained pilot in our midst; and though the distance between the Maldives and the Coromandel is just three days' journey, we sailed for nine days and landed on the island of Sīlān (Ceylon) on the ninth day. We saw there the mountain of Sarandīb[41] rising in the air like a column of smoke. When we approached this island, the sailors said: "This port is not in the country of a Sultan whose lands merchants might enter in full security; but it lies in the territory of Sultan Airy Shakrauty (Ārya Cakravarti) who is a perverse and unjust man, and owns a pirate fleet." Hence we were afraid to land in his port; but a high wind arose, and we dreaded the sinking of the ship. And I told the captain: "Get me ashore, and I shall get for you a safe-conduct from this Sultan." He acted accordingly and put me ashore. The idolaters came to us and asked: "Who are you?" I told them that I was the brother-in-law and friend of the Sultan of Ma'bar, that I had set out to visit him, and that what was on board the vessel was a present meant for this prince. They went to their sovereign and conveyed my answer to him. He sent for me and I went to see him in the town of Baṭṭālah (Puttelam), his capital. It is a small and pretty place, surrounded by a wall and bastions of wood. The whole coast in the neighbourhood is covered with trunks of cinnamon trees washed down by the torrents. These trees are heaped on the shore and look like a sort of hillocks there. The people of Ma'bar (Coromandel) and Malabar take them without paying anything; in return for this favour, however, they make presents to the Sultan of cloth and similar things. Between the Ma'bar and the island of Ceylon, it is a day and a night's journey. We also find on this island much brazil wood as well as Indian aloe, which is called *alkalkhy* (probably the Greek *agallokon*), but has no resemblance to *Qamāry* or *Qāquly*. We shall speak of this later.

CEYLON

The Sultan of Sīlān is called Airy Shakrauty; and he is powerful on the sea. Once, when I was on the Ma'bar Coast, I saw a

40. 22nd August.—Gibb.

41. Ibn Battūta speaks of the island Sīlān and the mountain Sarandīb. The distiction is interesting as it seems to indicate the probable Arab name Sarandīb for the island of Ceylon. Where was this Jabal-i-Sarandīb in the Island? Is it identical with the Adam's peak?

hundred vessels of his, great and small, which came there. There were in the port eight ships belonging to the Sultan of the country reserved for a voyage to Yemen. The king ordered preparations to be made and appointed the persons to guard his vessels. When the Ceylonese despaired of finding an occasion to seize them, they said: "We have come only to protect our vessels which have also to go to Yemen."

THE SULTAN OF CEYLON

When I entered the house of the infidel Sultan, he rose, made me sit by his side and spoke to me with the utmost kindness. He told me: "Your companions may land in all security; they will be my guests till their departure. The Sultan of Ma'bar coast and I are friends." Then he arranged for my lodging, and I spent three days with him, treated with great consideration, which increased every day. He understood Persian and enjoyed greatly what I related to him regarding foreign kings and their lands. One day I went to him when he had near him a quantity of pearls, brought to him from the fisheries in his country. His officers separated the valuable ones from the rest. He asked me: "Have you seen pearl fisheries in the countries you have travelled in?" "Yes," I replied "I have seen them in the islands of Qais and Kish that belong to Ibn Sawwâmaly." "I have heard of them," he said, and then gave me many pearls and added: "Are there pearls equal to these in that island?" I replied: "I have seen only inferior pearls there." My answer pleased him, and he said: "The pearls are yours." "Do not blush !," he added, "ask for whatever you want." I then said: "I have had no other desire, since coming to this island, than to visit the celebrated Foot of Adam." The people of the country call Adam, *Bābā*, and Ḥavâ, *Māmā*. "That is easy" he replied, "I shall send some one with you to take you there." "That is what I want," said I, and then added: "The ship in which I came can proceed to Ma'bar in all safety, and when I come back, you will send me in your vessels." "Certainly," he said.

When I reported this to the Captain of the ship, he said to me: "I will not go till you come back, though I have to wait a year on your account." I informed the Sultan of this reply, and he said to me: "The captain will be my guest till your return."

The Sultan then gave me a palanquin which his slaves carried on their shoulders, and sent with me four of the yogis who have the custom of undertaking an annual pilgrimage to the Foot, three Brahmins, and ten others from among his companions, and fifteen men for carrying provisions. Water was to be had in plenty all

PILGRIMAGE TO ADAM'S PEAK

along the route. On the first day, we camped near a river, which we crossed by a ferry made of bamboos. From there we travelled to Manār Mandaly, a fine town at the extremity of the Sultan's territory; the people there treated us to a great feast. The repast comprised young buffalos, captured in a hunt in the adjoining wood, and brought home alive, of rice, *ghi*, fish, fowl and milk. We did not find any Muslim in this town, with the exception of a KHurāsānian who remained there for reasons of health and who accompanied us. We left for Bandar Salāwāt, a small town, and passed through a rough country with many water courses in it. There are many elephants, but they do no harm to pilgrims and strangers, and this is due to the holy influence of Shaikh Abu 'Abd-ul-lah, son of the KHafīf, the first to open the road for visiting the Foot. Formerly the infidels stopped the Mussulmans from making this pilgrimage, annoyed them, and neither ate nor traded with them. But since the adventure that befel Shaikh Abu 'Abd-ul-lah as has been narrated above,[42] they began to honour the Muslims, allowing them to enter their houses and eat with them. They even trust them with their wives and children. To this day they do great honour to the Shaikh and call him 'the great Shaikh'.

Then we went to the town of Kunkār, the residence of the principal sovereign of this country. It is built in a valley between two mountains near a large bay, called the bay of precious stones, because gems are found in it. Outside this town, there is the mosque of Shaikh 'Usmān of Shīrāz, surnamed Shāwush (the usher); the sovereign and the inhabitants of the place visit it and show their regard for him. It was he that served as guide to the Foot, and when he had one of his hands and feet cut off, his sons and slaves became guides in his place. He was thus mutilated because of his having killed a cow. Now the law of the Hindus ordains that whoever kills a cow should be slaughtered in the same manner, or packed in her skin and burned. As Shaikh 'Usmān was respected by the people, they stopped with cutting off his hand and foot, and made him a present of the revenue raised in a certain bazaar.

KUNKAR

42. ii 80-1. Ibn Battūta's story is that the Shaikh once went to Adam's Peak with about thirty dervishes who, while journeying in this part of Ceylon, felt the pangs of hunger, caught hold of a young elephant and ate it, in spite of the Shaikh's warning. That night the elephants mustered strong and killed all the dervishes who had eaten of the elephant's flesh, sparing only the Shaikh who had refrained, and was carried by an elephant on its back.—See Gibb pp. 95-6.

The Sultan of Kunkār is called Kunār,[42a] and he has a white elephant. I have not seen another white elephant anywhere. The king rides on it on solemn occasions, and then its forehead is adorned with large gems. It so happened that the nobles in his empire rose against this monarch, put out his eyes, and made his son king. He himself continues to live in that town, a blind man.

PRECIOUS STONES

The admirable gems called the *bahramān* (rubies or carbuncles) are to be seen only in this town. Among them, some are taken from the bay, and these are the most precious in the eyes of the natives; others are taken out of the earth. We find gems in all places in the island of Sīlān. In this land, the entire soil is private property. When a person buys a piece of land, he digs it for gems. He comes across white and ramified stones, and inside these stones gems lie hidden. The owner sends them to the lapidaries who strike them till they separate the gems from the stone hiding them. The gems are red (rubies), yellow (topazes), and blue (sapphires) or *nīlam* as they call it. The custom of the people is to reserve for the Sultan all precious stones of the value of a hundred *fanams* or more; the Sultan pays the price and takes them for himself. Stones of a lower value are retained by those who find them. A hundred *fanams* are equal to six gold pieces.

All the women of Ceylon have necklaces of precious stones of divers colours, and they have likewise bracelets on their hands and *khalākhail* (anklets) on their feet. The Sultan's women make networks out of these gems for their head. I saw on the forehead of the white elephant seven of these gems, each bigger than a hen's egg. I have also seen near the Sultan Airy Shakrauty (Ārya Cakravarti) a bowl of rubies of the size of the palm of the hand and containing the oil of aloes. When I expressed my surprise at this bowl, the Sultan said to me: "We have even larger articles made of the same material."

BLACK MONKEYS

We left Kunkār and stopped at a cave called after Usṭā Muhammad Allūry. He was a good man; he dug out this cave on the slope of the mountain, near a small bay. Leaving this cave, we went on, and encamped near the bay called *Khaur būznah* (the bay of the monkeys). Būznah (Pers. Buzīnah) is the same as the qurd (pl. of qird, monkey) in Arabic. Monkeys are very numerous on these mountains; they are black in colour, and have long

42a. Kōnār, as in Alagakkōnār.

tails. Those of the male sex have beards like men. Shaikh 'Usmān, his son and other persons told me that these monkeys have a chief whom they obey as if he were a king. He wears on his forehead a fillet of leaves and leans upon a staff. Four monkeys, staves in hand, march on his right and left, and when the chief is seated, they stand behind him. His female and young ones come and sit before him every day; the other monkeys come and sit at some distance from him; then one of the four monkeys abovementioned addresses them, and all the monkeys withdraw; after this, each brings a banana or a lemon or some similar fruit. The king of the monkeys, his young ones and the four principal monkeys eat. A certain yōgi told me that he saw these four monkeys beating another monkey with sticks before their chief and then pulling out his hair.

Trustworthy men have told me that when one of these monkeys seizes a young girl, she cannot escape his lewdness. An inhabitant of the island of Ceylon narrated to me that there was a monkey in his house, and that when one of his daughters entered a room, the animal followed her. She raised a cry, but the monkey violated her. "We rushed up to her," he continued, "we saw the monkey holding her in his embrace and we killed him."

Now we left for the bay of bamboos whence Abu 'Abd-ul-lah, son of the KHafīf, got the two rubies that he gave to the Sultan of this island, as we have stated earlier.[43] Then we travelled to a place called "The house of the Old Woman," at the extreme limit of the inhabited world. Thence we went to the Cave of Bābā Ṭāhir, who was a good man, and then to the Cave of Sabīk, who was a Hindu sovereign that retired to this spot for giving himself up to devotional practices.

On the Flying Leech

In this place we saw the flying leech called *zolu* by the natives. It stays on the trees and herbs near the water, and when a man approaches, it rushes on him. Whatever the part of his body on which the leech settles, it bleeds profusely. The people keep a lemon ready to squeeze out its juice, in such a case, on the worm, which then falls away from the body; they then scrape the part of the body with a wooden knife kept for the purpose. They said that a certain pilgrim passing by this route was fastened on by the leeches, and that, as he was slack and did not press citron juice on

43. II, p. 81.

them, all his blood was lost and he died. His name was Bābā KHūzy and there is a cave bearing his name. From this place, we proceeded to the seven caverns, and then to the hill of Iskandar (Alexander). Here there was a cave called the Ṣafhāny, a water-source and an inhabited castle, below which was a bay called 'The place of the sinking of the contemplatives.' In the same spot are found the cave of the orange and that of the Sultan. Near this last is the entrance (*darwāzah* in Pers., *bāb* in Arab.) to the mountain.

The mountain of Sarandīb (Adam's Peak)

THE ASCENT TO THE PEAK

The mountain of Sarandīb is among the highest in the world; we saw it from the sea when we had still to travel nine days to reach it. When we ascended it, we saw clouds below us, hiding its base from our view. On this mountain there are many ever-green trees, flowers of many colours and a red rose as big as the palm of the hand. They say that on this rose there is an inscription of the name of the Almighty God and His Prophet.[43a] On the mountain there are two paths leading to the Foot of Adam, called after the father and mother, *i.e.* Adam and Eve. Eve's path is the easy route by which pilgrims return, and those who take it on their way to the Foot would be regarded as not having made the pilgrimage. Adam's path is rough and difficult to climb. At the foot of the mountain, near the gate, is a grotto called after Iskandar (Alexander), and a spring.

The ancients have cut on the rock a sort of stairway leading up the mountain; they have also planted iron posts from which chains are suspended so that those who ascend may hold by them. There are ten of these chains, two at the base near the gate, seven others in succession after the first two, and, as for the tenth, it is the "Chain of the Profession of Faith" (Mussulman), so called because a person who reaches it and looks down to the foot of the mountain will be seized with hallucination and fear of falling, and will recite the words: "I declare that there is no other god but God, and that Muhammad is His Prophet." When you pass the tenth chain, you come to an ill-kept road. From the tenth chain to the Cave of KHiẓr, it is seven miles. This cave is situated in a wide area, and near by is a spring also called after KHiẓr and full of fish which no one catches. Near the cave, there are two cisterns cut in the rock, one on either side of the path. The pilgrims leave their

43a. cf. n. 17b. *ante*.

belongings in the KHiẓr grotto, and from there ascend two miles further to the summit where the Foot is.

Description of the Foot

The notable foot-print of our Father Ādam[44] is on a high black rock in a roomy place. The foot has sunk in the stone so as to leave its imprint as a clear depression in the rock; it is eleven spans long. Formerly the people of China came here; they cut from the rock the impression of the great toe and the adjoining parts, and put it in the temple of Zaitūn, which is visited by people from the remotest parts of the land. In the rock bearing the imprint of the Foot are dug out nine holes in which the infidel pilgrims put gold, precious stones and pearls. You can see the Fakirs, when they reach the grotto of KHiẓr, seeking to race one another to take what there is in these holes. For our part, we found only a few small stones and a little gold, which we gave to our guide. It is usual for pilgrims to pass three days in the grotto of KHiẓr, and on these days to visit the Foot morning and evening. We did it also.

At the end of the three days, we returned by the mother's path, and encamped near the grotto of Shiam, who is the same as Shait, the son of Adam. We then came to the 'bay of fish,' the towns of Kurumlah, Jabarkāvān, Dildīnivah and Ātqalanjah. It was in the town last mentioned that the Shaikh Abu 'Abd-ul-lah, son of the KHafīf, passed the winter. All these towns and stations are on the mountain. Near its foot, in the same road is found *'dirakht-i-ravān'* 'the walking tree,' an old tree from which not a single leaf falls. I have not met anybody who has seen its leaves. It is called 'walking' because a person who looks at it from the top of the mountain thinks that it is at a great distance from him at the foot of the hill, but when he looks at it from the base of the mountain, he believes quite the opposite. I saw there a group of yogis who never quit the foot of the mountain awaiting the fall of the leaves of this tree. It stands in an absolutely inaccessible place. The idolaters have all sorts of fables regarding this tree, one being that any one who eats of its leaves will recover his youth, though he be very old. But that is false.

Beneath this mountain is the large bay which yields precious stones. Its waters appear extremely blue to the eye. From this spot, we travelled for two days and reached the large town, Dīnūr, situated on the sea coast, and inhabited by merchants. There is here a vast temple, the idol in which bears the name of the

44. In a former context the word is spelt with a short 'a.'

town. There are in this temple about a thousand Brahmins and yogis and about five hundred women, born of infidel fathers, who sing and dance every night before the idol. The town with its revenue belongs to the idol; all those who live in the temple and those who visit it are fed therefrom. The idol itself is of gold, and of the height of a man. It has two large rubies for its eyes, and these, I was told, shine like two lamps at night.

Then we left for the small town of Qāly (Galle), six *parasangs* from Dīnūr. A Mussulman, called ship's captain Ibrāhīm, entertained us in his house. We started thence to the town of Kalanbu (Colombo), one of the most beautiful and largest

COLOMBO

towns in the island. In it lives the Vazīr prince of the sea, Jālastī, who has about five hundred Abyssinians with him. Three days after leaving Kalanbu we reached Baṭṭālah, mentioned once before. We visited its Sultan of whom we have spoken already. I found the

PATLAM

ship's captain Ibrāhīm awaiting me, and we started for Ma'bar. The wind was strong, and our ship was about to fill with water. We had no trained pilot, and so we drifted near some rocks, and narrowly escaped being wrecked; then we entered shallow water and our vessel grounded, and we were face to face with death. The

TO MA'BAR

passengers threw their belongings overboard, and bade farewell to one another. We cut down the mast of the ship and threw it into the sea; the sailors made a float of planks. We were two *parasangs* from the shore. I wished to get down on the raft; but I had two concubines and two companions, and they said to me: "Will you go on the raft and abandon us?" I preferred them to myself and said: "Get down both of you, along with the young girl that I like." The other girl said: "I can swim well; I shall attach myself by a cord to the raft and swim with them." My two comrades descended; one of them was Muhammad, son of Farḥān-ul-Tūzary, and the other an Egyptian. One of the girls was with them, and the second swam. The sailors tied ropes to the raft and swam with their aid. I put in their charge all my valuables, jewels and amber. They reached the shore in safety as the wind was favourable to them. As for myself, I stayed on the vessel, while the captain gained the shore on a plank. The sailors started making four rafts, but night came on before they were completed, and the water entered the ship. I got up on the poop and stayed there till the morning. Then many infidels came to us in one of their boats, and we went ashore with them, in the land of Ma'bar. We told them that we were friends of their Sultan

to whom they paid tribute, and they wrote to inform him of this. He was engaged in a war with the infidels, at a distance of two days' journey; I wrote to tell him what had happened to me.

The idolaters in question took us into a large wood and showed us a fruit that looked like a water-melon; it grows on the *muql*, the dwarf palm. Inside this fruit is a kind of cotton, containing a honey-like substance, which is extracted and made into a kind of pastry called *'tall'* and quite like sugar. They also served us excellent fish. We stayed there three days at the end of which an amīr, named Qamar-ud-dīn came from the Sultan together with a detachment of horse and foot. They brought a palanquin and ten horses. I mounted a horse, and so did my friends, the captain of the ship, and one of the two girls; the other was carried in the palanquin. We reached the fort of Harkātū[44a] where we spent the night, and where I left the young girls, some of my slaves, and my companions. The second day we arrived at the camp of the Sultan.

The Sultan of Ma'bar was Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn-ul Dāmag͟hāny; at first he was a cavalier in the service of Malik Majīr, son of Abu-ul-rajā[45], one of the officers of Sultan Muhammad; then he served the amīr Ḥājī, son of the Sayyid Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn. At last, he was invested with royalty. Before this he was called Sirāj-ud-dīn; but at his accession he took the name Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn. Formerly Ma'bar was subject to the authority of Sultan Muhammad, king of Delhi. Later, my father-in-law the Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shah raised a revolt against him, and ruled for five years, after which he was killed and replaced by one of his amīrs, 'Alā-ud-dīn Udaijy who ruled for a year. At the end of this period, he went to war against the infidels, seized much of their wealth as spoil and returned to his kingdom. The following year, he went on a second expedition against them, and routed them and put a large number to the sword. The same day on which he inflicted this disaster on them, he happened to remove his helmet in order to drink; an arrow shot by an unknown hand struck him and he died at once. His son-in-law, Quṭb-ud-dīn, was placed on the throne; but as his conduct was unpopular, he was killed at the end of forty days. The Sultan Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn was invested with authority, he married the daughter of the

44a. This cannot be the modern town of Arcot, which lies too far north, (Gibb). It may have been a place in the Tanjore or S. Arcot District. See Cōḷas i.p.31.

45. This officer was governing Biyānah at the time of Ibn Battūta's stay; he was also one of the members of Sultan Muḥammad's Council.—N. V. R.

Sultan and the Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn ; it is her sister that I had married in Delhi.

My arrival at the court of Sultan Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn :

When we came near his camp, the Sultan sent one of his chamberlains to receive us. He was seated in a wooden tower. It is the custom in all India that no one enters the Sultan's presence without boots on. Now, I had no boots with me, an idolater gave me a pair, though there were some Mussulmans there, and I was surprised that the infidel was more generous to me than these. I then appeared before the Sultan who asked me to be seated, sent for the Qāẓī and the Ḥājī[46] Ṣadr-ul-Zamān Bahā-ud-dīn, and lodged me in three tents near himself. The people of the country call these tents k͟hiyām (pl. of k͟haimāh). The Sultan sent me carpets and food comprising the rice and meat usual in this country. It is the rule here, as in our own lands, to serve butter-milk at the end of the meal.

Later, I had an interview with the Sultan, and proposed to him the plan of despatching an army to the Maldives. He resolved to do this, and chose the ships for the enterprise. He intended to send a present to the Sulṭānah of the Maldives, and robes of honour and gifts to the amīrs and vazīrs. He entrusted to me the task of drawing up his contract of marriage with the sister of the Sulṭānah ; finally he ordered three vessels to be loaded with alms for the poor in the islands, and said to me; "You will come back at the end of five days." But the admiral K͟Hwājah Sarlak told him: " It will be possible to reach the Maldives only in three months from now." "If that be so", replied the Sultan addressing me, " come to Fattan ; after we finish the present campaign, we may return to our capital Mutrah (Madura) ; and the expedition will start from there." I then stayed with him and, while waiting, I sent for my slave-girls and comrades.

The march of the Sultan and his disgraceful conduct in massacring women and children :

The country we had to traverse was an impenetrable jungle of trees and reeds. The Sultan ordered that every one in the army, great and small alike, should carry a hatchet to cut down these obstacles. When the camp was struck, he set out on horseback towards the forest together with his soldiers who felled the trees from morning to noon. Then food was served, and the whole

46. A person who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

army ate, troop by troop; afterwards they resumed cutting trees till the evening. All the infidels found in the jungle were taken prisoners; they had stakes sharpened at both ends and made the prisoners carry them on their shoulders. Each was accompanied by his wife and children, and they were thus led to the camp. .It is the practice here to surround the camp with a palisade, called *katkar* and having four gates. They make a second *katkar* round the king's habitation.. Outside the principal enclosure, they raise platforms about three feet high, and light fires on them at night. Slaves and sentinels spend the night here, each holding in his hand a bundle of very thin reeds. When the infidels approach for a night attack on the camp, all the sentries light their faggots, and thanks to the flames, the night becomes as bright as day, and the cavalry sets out in pursuit of the idolaters.

In the morning, the Hindus who had been made prisoners the day before, were divided into four groups, and each of these was led to one of the four gates of the main enclosure. There they were impaled on the posts they had themselves carried. Afterwards their wives were butchered and tied to the stakes by their hair. The children were massacred on the bosoms of their mothers, and their corpses left there. Then they struck camp and started cutting down the trees in another forest, and all the Hindus who were made captive were treated in the same manner. This is a shameful practice, and I have not seen any other sovereign adopt it; it was because of this that God hastened the end of Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn.

One day the Qāẓī and I were dining with this prince, the Qāẓī being to his right and I to his left, and an idolater was brought before him together with his wife and son aged seven years. The Sultan made a sign with his hand to the executioners to cut off the head of this man; then he said to them in Arabic; 'and his son and his wife'. They cut off their heads, and I turned my eyes away. When I composed myself, I found their heads lying on the ground.

On another occasion I was with Sultan Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn when a Hindu was brought to him. He spoke some words that I could not understand, and at once many of his followers drew their swords. I got up hurriedly, and he said: 'Where do you go?' I answered: "I go to say my afternoon (4 p.m.) prayer." He understood my motive, laughed, and ordered the hands and feet of the idolater to be cut off. On my return I found this unhappy man swimming in his blood.

The victory which Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn won over the infidels, and which is among the greatest successes of Islam:

Adjoining his state was that of an infidel sovereign named Balāl Dev, who was one of the principal Hindu kings. His army exceeded 100,000 men, besides 20,000 Mussulmans, rakes, criminals and fugitive slaves. This monarch aspired to conquer the country of Ma'bar, of which the Muslim army numbered only 6000 troops, a good half of them being excellent soldiers, and the rest absolutely worthless. The Muhammadans came to blows with him near the village of Kubbān; he routed them, and they had to fall back on Mutrah (Madura), their capital, The infidel sovereign camped near Kubbān (Koppam, Kaṇṇanūr), one of the largest and strongest places held by the Mussulmans. He besieged it for six months, at the end of which the garrison had provisions for only fourteen days. Balāl Dev proposed to the besieged to offer them a safe conduct if they would retire leaving him to occupy the town; but they replied: "We must inform our Sultan of this." He then offered them a truce for fourteen days and they wrote to Sultan Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn describing their situation to him. The Sultan read their letter to the people on the following Friday. The faithful wept and said: "We will sacrifice our lives to God; if the infidel takes that town, he will then lay siege to us; we prefer to die by the sword." They then engaged to expose themselves to death, and set out the next day, removing their turbans from their heads and placing them round the necks of their horses, which was an indication that each of them sought death. They posted the bravest and most courageous among them, some three hundred, as the vanguard; the right wing was under Saif-ud-dīn Bahādūr (hero), a pious and brave lawyer, and the left under Al Malik Muhammad, the *silḥadār* (armour bearer). The Sultan himself was in the centre with three thousand, and the rear-guard was formed by another three thousand under the command of Asad-ud-dīn Kaikhusrū Alfārisy (the Fārsian). In this order, the Mussulmans set out at the siesta hour towards the infidel camp and attacked it, when the soldiers were off their guard, having sent away their horses to graze. The infidels, thinking that robbers were attacking the camp, went out in disorder to combat the assailants. Meanwhile, Sultan Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn arrived, and the Hindus suffered the worst of all defeats. Their sovereign tried to mount a horse though he was aged eighty. Nāṣir-ud-dīn, nephew and successor of the Sultan, overtook the old man and was about to kill him, for he did not know who he was. But one of his slaves said: 'He is the Hindu sovereign'; he then made him prisoner

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and led him to his uncle, who treated him with apparent consideration till he extorted from him his riches, his elephants and horses, and promised to release him. When he had yielded up all his wealth to him, he had him killed and flayed. His skin was stuffed with straw and hung up on the wall of Madura where I saw it in the same position.

To return to our subject. I left the camp and went to the town of Fattan, a large and fine city on the coast. It has an admirable harbour, and there is a large wooden pavilion in it erected on stout beams and reached by a covered pathway also made of wood. When an enemy arrives, all the ships in port are attached to this pavilion; the soldiers and archers mount up the pavilion, and the enemy gets no chance of inflicting any injury. In this town there is a beautiful mosque built of stone, and grapes and excellent pomegranates are available in large quantities. Here I met the pious Shaikh Muhammad-ul-Īsābūry, one of the fakirs who have a troubled spirit and who let their hair hang loose over their shoulders. He kept a lion with him which he had tamed, and which ate with the fakirs and sat with them. The Shaikh had about thirty fakirs with him, one of whom owned a gazelle which lived in the same place as the lion who did no harm to it. I stayed in Fattan.

FATTAN

Meantime, a yogi had prepared for Sultan Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn some pills calculated to improve his virility. It is said that iron filings were among the ingredients of these pills. The Sultan swallowed a larger dose than was good for him and fell ill. In this state he reached Fattan; I went out to meet him and offered him a present. When he had settled down, he sent for admiral KHwājah Sarūr, and said to him: "Take up nothing but equipping the vessels chosen for the expedition to the Maldives." He wished to remit to me the cost of the present I had made to him; I refused, but repented afterwards, for he died, and I got nothing. The Sultan remained at Fattan for half a month, and then left for his capital; I stayed there for fifteen days after his departure, and then started for Madura, the place of his residence, a large town with broad streets. The first prince who made it his capital was my father-in-law, the Sultan Sharīf Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥasan Shah, who made it look like Delhi, building it with care.

MADURA

On my arrival at Madura, I found a contagious disease prevailing there; people died of it in a short time. Those who were attacked by it succumbed on the second or third day; if death was delayed, it was only till the fourth day. When I went out, I

saw only the sick or the dead. I bought a young slave girl here, being assured that she was healthy; but she died the next day. One day a woman whose husband had been a vazīr of Sultan Aḥasan Shah came to see me with her son aged eight years, a nice lad full of intelligence and spirit. She complained of poverty, and I gave some money to her and her son. Both of them were strong and healthy; but the next day the mother returned, asking for a shroud for her son, as he had died suddenly. I saw in the audience hall of the Sultan, at the time of his death, hundreds of women servants who had been brought to pound rice for preparing food for other persons than the sovereign; these women, taking ill, were thrown on the ground, exposed to the sun's heat.

When Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn entered Madura, he found that his mother, his wife and his son had fallen ill. He remained three days in the city, and then he went out to a river at a distance of one *parasang*, on the banks of which is a temple belonging to the infidels. I went to meet him on a Thursday and he ordered me to be lodged with the Qāẓī. When the tents had been erected for me, I saw people hastening along pushing one another. One of them said: 'The Sultan is dead'; another asserted that it was his son that had died. We ascertained the truth, and found that the son was dead. The Sultan had no other son, and this death aggravated his own disease. The Thursday following, the mother of the Sultan died.

The death of the Sultan, the accession of his brother's son and my separation from the new prince:

The third Thursday, Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn died. I heard of it and hastened to return to town, for fear of a tumult. I met the nephew and successor, Nāṣir-ud-dīn, who had been called to the camp as the Sultan had left no son. He urged me to retrace my steps and return to the camp with him; but I refused, and he took this refusal to heart. Nāṣir-ud-dīn had been a domestic servant at Delhi before his uncle came to the throne. When Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn became king, the nephew fled to him in the guise of a fakir, and it was the will of fate that he should rule after his uncle. When they had sworn allegiance to Nāṣir-ud-dīn, poets recited his praises and he gave them magnificent gifts. The first that rose to recite verses was the Qāẓī Ṣadr-ul-Zamān, to whom he gave five hundred gold pieces and a robe of honour; then came the vazīr al-Qāẓī (the judge) whom the Sultan gratified with two thousand pieces of silver. As for myself, he presented me with three hundred gold pieces and a robe of honour. He distributed alms to the fakirs and the poor. When the preacher delivered the first discourse in which he inserted the name of the new sovereign, they

showered on him drachmas and dinars from plates of gold and silver. The funeral of Sultan Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn was celebrated with pomp. Every day the Quran was read in full near his tomb. Then those whose duty it was to read the tenth section of the holy book gave a reading, after which food was served and the public ate; finally, silver pieces were distributed to each person according to his rank. These things were done for forty days. They repeated the ceremony every year on the anniversary day of the death of the deceased.

The first measure of Sultan Nāṣir-ud-dīn was to dismiss the vazīr of his uncle, and to exact sums of money from him. He installed in the vazirate Malik Badr-ud-dīn, the same man that had been sent by his uncle to meet me when I was at Fattan. He died not long after, and the Sultan appointed KHwājah Sarūr, the admiral, as vazīr, and ordered that he should be styled KHwājah Jahān, just like the vazīr of Delhi. Whoever addressed him by any other title had to pay a certain number of gold pieces (as fine). After this Sultan Nāṣir-ud-dīn killed the son of his paternal aunt, who was the husband of Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn's daughter, and married her himself. He heard that Malik Mas'ūd had visited his cousin in the prison before he was put to death, and he murdered him as also Malik Bahādūr, a generous and virtuous hero. He gave orders that I should be provided with all the vessels that his uncle had assigned for my expedition to the Maldives.

FEVER

But I fell ill of a fever which is fatal in this country, and thought that it would be my end. God inspired me to have recourse to the tamarind, which is very abundant in this country. I took about a pound of it, put it in water and drank it. It relaxed me for three days, and God cured me of the disease. I took a dislike to the town of Madura, and asked the Sultan for permission to go away. He said to me: "Why should you go? There is only one month for going to the Maldives. Stay then till we give you all that the master of the world (the late Sultan) ordered to be given to you." I refused, and he wrote in my favour to Fattan that I might sail in any vessel of my choice. I returned to Fattan, and found there eight vessels sailing for Yemen, and I boarded one of them. We met four ships of war which engaged us for a time and then retired; afterwards, we reached Kūlam (Quilon). As I still felt the effects of my illness, I stayed three months in this town, and then embarked with a view to go to Sultan Jamāl-ud-dīn of Hanaur; but the idolaters attacked us between Hanaur and Fākanūr.

RETURN TO FATTAN

How we were despoiled by the Hindus:

When we reached the small island between Hanaur and Fākanūr, the Hindus assailed us with a dozen war ships, and after a vigorous combat, overpowered us. They took all I had, including the reserve I had kept against emergencies, as well as the pearls, precious stones given to me by the king of Ceylon, my clothes, and the provisions for travel given to me by good and holy men. They left me no dress but a pair of trousers. They seized the belongings of all the passengers and sailors, and forced us to disembark. I returned to Calicut and entered one of the mosques there. A jurisconsult sent me a robe, the Qāẓī a CALICUT AGAIN turban and a certain merchant another robe. Here I learnt of the marriage of vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah with the Sulṭānah KHadījah, after the death of the vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn; and I also learned that the wife whom I had left pregnant had given birth to a male child. I wanted then to go to the Maldives, but I recollected my enmity with the vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah. Hence I opened the Quran and these words caught my eyes: "Angels shall descend on them and say to them: 'Fear not, and be not sad'" (Quran, xli. 30). I MALDIVES AGAIN implored the benediction of God, and set sail. At the end of ten days I reached the islands and disembarked on Kannalūs. The governor of this island, 'Abd-ul-'Azīz Almaqdashāwy, welcomed me kindly, entertained me and fitted out a boat for me. I then went to Hululy, the island to which the Sulṭānah and her sisters went for diversion and for bathing. The natives call these amusements *tatjar* and indulge in them on board. The vazīrs and chiefs sent the Sulṭānah presents and gifts when she was on this island. I met there the sister of the Sulṭānah, her husband, the preacher Muhammad, son of vazīr Jamāl-ud-dīn, and his mother, who had been my wife. The preacher visited me and ate with me.

Meanwhile some of the islanders went to vazīr 'Abd-ul-lah and told him of my arrival. He made enquiries about my condition and about my companions.

They told him that I had come to take my son, aged about two years. The mother of the child went to the vazīr to lodge a complaint about my plan; but he told her: 'I will not hinder him from taking his son.' He pressed me, to go to the island (of Mahal), and lodged me in a house opposite the tower of his palace that he might know all about my movements. He sent me a complete robe, betel and rosewater according to custom. I took to him two pieces of silk to throw them before him when I saluted him. They

took it from me, and the vazīr did not come out that day to receive me. My son was brought to me, and it seemed to me that his stay with the islanders suited him best. So I gave him back to them. I remained five days in the island, and it seemed best for me to hasten my departure and I asked for permission to leave. The vazīr called me, and I went to him. They brought the two pieces of silk they had taken from me before, and I threw them down while saluting the vazīr according to custom. He made me sit by his side, and asked me how I fared. I ate with him and washed my hands in the same basin as he, which he never does with any one. Then they brought betel, and I returned. The vazīr sent me cloths and *bustus* (hundreds of thousands) of cowries, and behaved himself perfectly.

TO BENGAL

I started again; we spent forty-three days on the sea, and then reached Bengal, a vast country abounding in rice.

—*Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. C. Defrémery and Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti, Vol. iv. pp. 46-210.[47]

47. Ibn Battūta touched again at Quilon and Calicut early in 1347 on his way back from China to Morocco (*ibid,* vp. 309-10); but his account on this occasion is very brief and contains nothing new.

XXXI. 1347 A.D. JOHN DE MARIGNOLLI

A. *Quilon*

And sailing on the feast of St. Stephen,[1] we navigated the Indian sea until Palm Sunday, and then arrived at a very noble city of India called *Columbum,* where the whole world's pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vineyards. These vines produce clusters which are at first like those of the wild vine, of a green colour, and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes, and they have a red wine in them which I have squeezed out on my plate as a condiment. When they have ripened, they are left to dry upon the tree, and when shrivelled by the excessive heat the dry clusters are knocked off with a stick and caught upon linen cloths, and so the harvest is gathered.

These are things that I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there. And there is no roasting of the pepper, as authors have falsely asserted, nor does it grow in forests, but in regular gardens; nor are the Saracens the proprietors but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steel-yard, from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred gold *fan,* and a thousand when I left.[2]

There is a church of St. George there, of the Latin communion, at which I dwelt. And I adorned it with fine paintings, and taught there the holy Law. And after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up

1. Probably 26th December 1347.—Yule.

2. "The value of the *fanam* (Marignolli's *fan*) has varied so much that it is difficult to estimate what the legate received in this way. Marsden makes the *fanam* 2½d. (*Marco Polo,* p. 656). In the beginning of last century, Visscher says the *fanam* of Cochin was about 1½d., that of Calicut 6d., and that of Quilon 15d. Late in the same century Friar Paolino states the Paliacat *fanam* at 9 *sous* or 4½d., that of Tanjore or Calicut at 6d. or 7d., and that of Madura at 3½d. And Ibn Battūta (iv, 174) tells us that 100 *fanams* were equal to 6 *dinars,* which would make the *fanam* nearly 8d. This last may be taken as probably about the value of our author's *fan.* So his monthly perquisite would be about £3.6s., and the present he received at parting £33. If we may judge from the calculations based on Ibn Battūta's statement of prices at Delhi in his time, the money would represent at least ten times as much wealth as at present."—Yule.

his column (in India). For I erected a stone as my land-mark and memorial, in the corner of the world over against Paradise, and anointed it with oil! In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved upon it, with inscriptions both in Indian and Latin characters.[3]

I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palankin like Solomon's.

So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren, and after accomplishing many glorious works I went to see the famous Queen of SABA. By her I was honourably treated, and after some harvest of souls (for there are a few Christians there) I proceeded by sea to *Seyllan*, a glorious mountain opposite to Paradise.

—Yule, *Cathay*, iii pp. 216-20.

B. *Ceylon*: *Concerning Adam's Garden and the Fruits thereof.*

Plantain: The garden of Adam in Seyllan contains in the first place plantain trees which the natives call figs. But the plantain has more the character of a garden plant than of a tree. It is indeed a tree in thickness, having a stem as thick as an oak, but so soft that a strong man can punch a hole in it with his finger, and from such a hole water will flow. The leaves of those plantain trees are most beautiful, immensely long and broad, and of a bright emerald green; in fact, they use them for table cloths, but serving only for a single dinner. Also new-born children, after being washed and salted, are wrapped up with aloes and roses in these leaves, without any swathing, and so placed in the sand. The leaves are some ten ells in length, more or less, and I do not know to what to compare them (in form) unless it be to elecampane. The tree produces its fruit only from the crown; but on one stem it will bear a good three hundred. At first they are not good to eat, but after they have been kept a while in the house they ripen of themselves, and are then of an excellent odour, and still better taste; and they are about the length of the longest of one's fingers. And this is a thing that I have seen with mine

3. In 1662 Baldaeus said that the pillar was erected by St. Thomas—Day—*Land of the Perumāls*, p. 212. "Three hundred years of tradition might easily swamp the dim memory of John the Legate in that of Thomas the Apostle."—Yule. The pillar seems to have disappeared since.

own eyes, that slice it across where you will, you will find on both sides of the cut the figure of a man crucified, as if one had graven it with a needle point.[4] And it was of these leaves that Adam and Eve made themselves girdles to cover their nakedness.

Cocoanut: There are also many other trees and wonderful fruits there which we never see in these parts, such as the *Nargil*. Now the Nargil is the Indian Nut. Its tree has a most delicate bark, and very handsome leaves like those of the date-palm. Of these they make baskets and corn measurers; they use the wood for joists and rafters in roofing houses; of the husk or rind they make cordage; of the nutshell cups and goblets. They make also from the shell spoons which are antidotes to poison. Inside the shell there is a pulp of some two fingers thick, which is excellent eating, and tastes almost like almonds. It burns also, and both oil and sugar can be made from it. Inside of this there is a liquor which bubbles like new milk and turns to an excellent wine.[5]

Mango: They have also another tree called AMBURAN[6] having a fruit of excellent fragrance and flavour, somewhat like a peach.

Jack: There is again another wonderful tree called CHAKEBARUHE,[7] as big as an oak. Its fruit is produced from the trunk and not from the branches, and is something marvellous to see, being as big as a great lamb, or a child of three years old. It has a hard rind like that of our pine-cones, so that you have to cut it open with an axe; inside it has a pulp of surpassing flavour, with the sweetness of honey and of the best Italian melon; and this also contains some five hundred chestnuts of like flavour, which are capital eating when roasted.

—*Ibid.* pp. 235-7.

C. *On Buddhist Monks of Ceylon*

At that place dwell certain men under religious vows, and who are of surpassing cleanliness in their habits; yea of such cleanliness that none of them will abide in a house where anyone may have spit; and to spit themselves (though in good sooth they

4. Mandeville gives a like account of the cross in the plantain or 'apple of Paradise' as he calls it and also some others.—Yule.

5. Cocoanut milk confounded with the toddy, a mistake made by later travellers as well.—Yule.

6. The Mango, *āmra*.

7. The jack, *cakkai-varikkan*.

rarely do such a thing) they will retire a long way, as well as for other occasions.

They eat only once a day, and never oftener; they drink nothing but milk or water; they pray with great propriety of manner; they teach boys to form their letters, first by writing with the finger on sand, and afterwards with an iron style upon leaves of paper, or rather I should say upon leaves of a certain tree.

In their cloister they have certain trees that differ in foliage from all others. These are encircled with crowns of gold and jewels,[8] and there are lights placed before them, and these trees they worship. And they pretend to have received this right by tradition from Adam, saying that they adore those trees because Adam looked for future salvation to come from wood. And this agrees with that verse of David's "*Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnabit in ligno,*" though for a true rendering it would be better to say *curabit a ligno.*[9]

These monks, moreover, never keep any food in their house till the morrow. They sleep on the bare ground; they walk barefoot, carrying a staff; and are contented with a frock like that of one of our Minor Friars (but without a hood), and with a mantle cast in folds over the shoulder *Ad Modum Apostolorum.* They go about in procession every morning begging rice for their day's dinner. The princes and others go forth to meet them with the greatest reverence, and bestow rice upon them in measure proportioned to their numbers; and this they partake of steeped in water, with coconut milk and plantains. These things I speak of as an eyewitness; and indeed they made me a *festa* as if I were one of their own order.

—Yule, *Cathay,* iii pp. 242-44.

8. Doubtless *Peepul* trees.
9. Psalm xcvi. 10.—Yule.

XXXII. 1330-1349 A.D. WANG TA-YUAN

A. *Coral at Dondera Head*

The Ta Fo shan lies between Ya-li (Galle) and Kao-lang-pu (Colombo).

In the *keng-wu* year of the *Chih-shun* period (A.D. 1330) in the tenth moon, in winter, for two days I was sailing along the base of this mountain. All night the moonlight made it as clear as day, the sea was calm, the water so clear that I could look down in it and see things floating about on the bottom. There was a tree in the waters which moved about. I pointed it out to the sailors and said to them, "Is this not a piece of pure *lang-kan* coral?" They replied, "It is not."

"Is it then the shadow of the (magic) *so-lo* tree in the moon?" They answered, "It is not."

Then I told a boy to get into the water and to fetch it. He pulled up a soft and slimy thing, and brought it out of the water when it became as hard as iron. I took it and examined it. It was barely a foot long. Then this branch curled up into a knot, and, strange to relate, on the branch there was a half-opened flower with a single stamen, of a reddish colour, and like a half opened peony, or a lotus flower.

The sailors, holding candles, stood around looking on. Then they all began hopping about like birds, laughing, and saying, "Why, this is the precious tree (i.e., the coral tree) which has bloomed. Truly, of the marvellous things of the sea there are some which are novel even to the Chinese; for over forty years we have never seen the like of this, and there is not a chance in a thousand that it could be found again, and now you, Sir, it is yours!"

The following day I composed a piece of poetry in the antique style in an hundred verses to commemorate the event, and stuck it away in my sleeve to carry home. When An Yü (Yü An ?), hsien-Sheng of Yü-Chang, saw it, he composed an additional piece of poetry. Down to the present day it has been kept in the Chün-tzû t'ang (at Nan-chang) as a curious record.

—*Tao i chih lio*, 79 Ta Fo shan, translated by Rockhill; T'oung Pao xvi pp. 383-384.

B. *Colombo*[1]

(Kao-lang-pu) is at the foot of the Ta Fo shan. The whole shore of the bay is nothing but jagged rocks standing up or lying flat. The ground is damp, the soil is poor, and rice very dear. The climate is hot, the customs of the natives are boorish.

Sailors who have had the misfortune to be wrecked, and who have to stop for a while in this place, are fleeced by the ruler of whatever merchandize their junk may have on board, even the gold and jewels are sent to him. He looks upon them as sent by Heaven, and little he knows and cares that they were expected by the sailors' wives and children to save them from starvation and cold.

The natives, men and women, do up their hair in a knot and wrap around them a sarong of Pa-ch' ieh-na-chien (i.e., Javanese) cotton cloth. They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment the juice of the sugar-cane to make spirits.

They have a ruler. The native products are red stones (rubies), the same as those of Seng-ka-la (i.e., near Beligam.)

The goods used (by the Chinese) in trading are Pa-tan (Shali-yat?) cotton stuffs, tin, samshu, rose-water, sapan-wood, gold and silver, and such like things.

—*Tao i chih lio*, 65 Kao-lang-pu, tr. Rockhill, T'oung Pao xvi pp. 384-5.

C. *Pearl Fishing in the Gulf of Manar* (?)

It was formerly called Wei yüan, but now it is called the "New Harbour." The shore trends north and south; the inhabitants live scattered about. The soil, the climate, the customs, the people, are like those of (Sha-li)-pa-tan (Jurfattan).[2]

Some eighty odd *li* away from the harbour at a spot in the sea called "Ta-lang pang-chu" ("Great-bright oyster pearls"), here the waters are very rich in pearl oysters. When about to begin gathering them, the chief kills a human being and some tens of animals in sacrifice to the gods of the sea. Then they make choice of the day, the boats, and the men, to gather the pearls.

Each boat has a crew of five men; two to row, two to manage the ropes. The fifth man hangs around his neck a bag, the mouth

1. Wang Ta-yüan is the only Chinese writer to mention Colombo. In a subsequent chapter (82) he writes the name Kao-lang-fu.—Rockhill.

2. See the extract on this place (H) below.

of which is held open by means of a bamboo ring, and, providing himself with a safety-rope, he ties a stone to his waist and lets himself sink down to the bottom of the sea. Then with his hand he pulls up the pearl-oysters and puts them in his bag. In response to his pulling the rope, the men in the boat, who are looking after it, pull him and the bag of pearl-oysters on his neck, into the boat. And so they do until the boats are full, when they go back to the government station, where, under the guard of soldiers, (the oysters) remain for a number of days until the meat rots. Then they remove the shells and wash away the rotten meat by stirring them around in a sieve, by which means the flesh is got rid of and the pearls are left. They are then classed by means of a very fine sieve, and the officials levy as duty five-tenths of the whole, and the five-tenths remaining are equally divided among the boat crews, if indeed the gods of the sea have not claimed the divers, for many of them get buried in the bellies of rapacious fish. Alas! how sad a fate.

Some sailor men, who are so lucky as to get their shares of profits for some years, sell their pearls for money to do some trading, and go home, happy with the large profits they have made, which establish them in opulence; but such are few indeed.

—*Tao i chih lio.* 72 Ti-san chiang,[3] tr. Rockhill, T'oung Pao xvi pp. 385-7.

D. *Northern Maldive Islands.*

(Pei Liu) is in a group of about a thousand islets and a myriad islands. When a ship sailing for the Western Ocean has passed near Seng-ka-la (Belligam, Ceylon), the set of the tidal current rapidly changes, and (if) it falls in with a head wind, it is driven at once to this country. The following year in the spring with the south-east wind the ship proceeds again northward. Around all the Liu (islands) there are in the waters rocky ledges with teeth as sharp as the point of a knife, which no vessel can withstand.[4]

3. The name Ti-san chiang does not occur in any other Chinese work I have seen of earlier or later date than that of Wang Ta-yüan. Chau Ju-kua knew that pearls were got from Ceylon but he does not mention where. Marco Polo (II, 331) describes the mode of fishing in the Gulf of Manar much as Wang does. He says the fishers started from a place in Ceylon called Bettelar (Ibn Battūta's Batthala) and then went sixty miles into the Gulf.—Rockhill.

4. Pyrard I, 93, 95, says, the Maldives were divided into thirteen provinces or *atollous*. The natives informed him that there were 12000 islands. The title of the king was "King of thirteen provinces and twelve thousand

The native products are cocoa-nuts, cowrie shells, dried fish, and large cotton handkerchiefs.

Every sea-trader takes one shipload of cowries to Wu-tieh (Orissa?) (or) Peng-ka-la (Bengal), where he is sure to exchange it for a shipload of rice and more, for these people use cowries as money, and a very ancient style of currency it is.

—*Tao i chih lio*. 63 Pei Liu, tr. Rockhill. T'oung Pao xvi, pp. 387-8.

E. *Kain Colan* (*Kāyangulam*).

It is in the neighbourhood of the Tu-lan rocks. The soil is black and well suited for the raising of cereals. The people are indolent in their work of the tillage of the soil. They count yearly (to eke out their subsistence) on the contribution made them by the Wu-tieh (Orissa) rice trade. Sometimes through stress of weather (these Wu-tieh boats? or a boat?) arrive late after the departure of the horse ships (from Kan-mai-li, the Comoro Islands) and without a full cargo; the wind blows (too) violently (for them to proceed). Other times the wind is contrary, and it (or they) cannot reach the Sea of Lambri and escape the danger from the ragged rocks in (the bay of) Kao-lang-fu (Colombo), so they pass the winter in this place, remaining until the summer of the following year; when in the eighth or ninth moon ships come again (from Kan-mai-li ?), then they go on (in their company so as to escape the pirates which infested the coast?) to Ku-li-fo (Calicut) to trade.

As to the usages and customs, the clothing of both sexes is like that of Ku-li-fo (Calicut). They have village rulers, but no chieftains (or chief ruler).

The native products are pepper, cocoa-nuts, betel-nuts, and Liu fish (i.e., *cobily mash,* from the Maldive Islands).

The goods used (by the Chinese) in trading there are gold, iron, blue and white porcelain-ware, Pa-tan cotton cloth (Jurfattan cloth?), satins of various colours, iron-ware and the like.

—*Tao i chih lio,* 82. Hsiao Kü-nan, tr. Rockhill. T'oung Pao xvi, pp. 445-7.

isles." Rājarāja I Cōḷa is said, in his inscriptions, to have subdued "the many ancient islands, 12,000 (in number)."

F. *Hili (Ely)*

This country is between Hsiao Kü-nan (Kain Colan) and Ku-li-fo (Calicut)[5], it is also known (to the Chinese) as the Hsiao chiang-k'ou, or "Little Harbour." The hill is bare and flat, it extends over several thousand (*sic*) *li*.

The dwellings of the people are scattered about close together on every side with a sufficiency of land to supply the wants of each family, though the soil is far from good for tilling.

The climate is hot, the usages of the people pure. They are hot-headed, and wherever they go, they carry about with them their bows and arrows. Men and women cut their hair and wrap around them *Liu pu* (i.e., cotton cloth from the Maldive Islands).

The natural products are pepper, superior to that of any other foreign port. It is impossible to state the number of plants which cover the hills (of Hsia-li). It is a creeper which grows like a wistaria vine, and which blooms in winter and bears fruit in summer. The people gather it and dry it in the sun to remove its pungent flavour. The pepper gatherers for the most part do not mind its flavour, but if they do, they get relief by using a decoction of *Ch'üan-hsiung*. The pepper of all other foreign parts is all the surplus product of this country.

—*Tao i chih lio*. 64. Hsia-li, tr. Rockhill. T'oung Pao xvi, p. 453.

G. *Calicut*

Ku-li-fo is the most important of all the maritime centers of trade. It is close to Hsi-lan (Ceylon) and is the principal port of the Western Ocean. The land is flat and the soil poor, though grain can be grown.

Each year they depend on the shipping from Wu-tieh (Orissa, for a sufficiency of grain). They cede the path to each other; they will not pick up things on the highways; their customs approach those of antiquity (in honesty). Should anyone steal an ox, the chief verifies the number of oxen, and (or) the rightful owner seizes all the property of the offender, and he is put to death.

The seat of government is far off in the hills, but the place where trading is carried on is on the sea-shore.

The native products include pepper very like that of Hsia-li (Hili). The people have public godowns in which they store it.

5. This is wrong. Mt. Ely is to the North of Calicut.

Each *po-ho·* (*bahar*) is of 375 catties weight. The customs dues are two tenths. There are also kajang leaves, *p'i sang* cloth, rose-water, jack-fruit, and catechu. The coral, pearls, and frankincense (obtained here), all come from Kan-mai-(li) and Fo-lang (Comoro Islands and the countries of the Franks?). The goods exported are the same as from Hsiao Kü-nan (Kain-Colan).

They have fine horses which come from the extreme West, and which are brought here by the shipload. Each horse will fetch from an hundred to a thousand pieces of gold, even going as high as four thousand, and the foreign people who fetch them thither would think the market a very bad one if they did not.

—*Tao i chih lio* 83. Ku-li-fo, tr. Rockhill: T'oung Pao xvi, pp. 454-5.

H. *Jurfattan*

This country is beyond Ku-li-fo (Calicut). The soil is fertile and level, (but) the cultivated fields few. The usages of the people are pleasing. As to the climate it is rather hot. Men and women wrap cotton cloth around them and wear a turban. They are sea-farers, and this is the principal port for the pearl trade.

When anyone of the people commits a crime, they draw a circle with lime on the ground and cause him to stand inside it, not allowing him to move. This is their most severe form of punishment.

The natural products are Pa-tan cotton cloth and pearls, all of which latter are brought here from the Ti-san chiang (Gulf of Manar, Ceylon?), their place of production, and where the pearl collectorate office gathers them all in and brings them over in small boats to this place (i.e. Jurfattan), where the rich (traders) use gold and silver to force down the prices (?). If a boat should come (from Ti-san-chiang) to try to sell (directly) to the Chinese, its profits will be insignificant indeed (i.e., the Jurfattan pearl traders will undersell them with the Chinese ?).

—*Tao i chih lio* 66. Sha-li-pa-tan, tr. Rockhill: T'oung Pao xvi pp. 464-5.

XXXIII. 1436 A.D. FEI HSIN

A. *Ceylon.*

This country (Hsi-lan shan) can be reached from Su-men-ta-la with a fair wind in twelve days. The territory of this state is extensive, the population dense. The riches they have amassed equal those of Chao-wa (Java). In the interior there is a high mountain which reaches to the sky. On the summit of the mountain are found blue *mei-lan* stones, yellow *ya-ku* stones, blue and red precious stones; they are washed down in the sands after heavy rains and picked up. In the sea near the coast there is a pearl shoal; here they are in the habit of going and gathering oysters with nets. These they pour into a pond, and when they have rotted, they wash them in a sieve and get the pearls.

On the sea-coast there is a flat stone on which is the impress of a foot over three feet long, and in it there is water which never evaporates. They say that in ages gone by Śākya Buddha, when going to the Tsui-lan islands (the Nicobar islands) went up this mountain and left this footprint. Down to the present day it is worshipped. Below it there is a temple called (the place of) the nirvāṇa of Śākya Buddha. His true body (i.e., the lifelike representation) lying on its side is in this temple. There are also relics (Śārīra) in his resting place.

The climate is constantly hot; the people are usually well-to-do, and rice is plentiful.

The products of the soil are precious stones, pearls, ambergris, frankincense. The goods used (by the Chinese in trading) are gold and copper coins, blue and white porcelain-ware, coloured satins, coloured silk gauzes.

Men and women bind their heads and wear a long shirt, wrapping around their middle a piece of cotton stuff.

In the 7th year of Yung-lo (1409) Cheng Ho and others presented to this temple in the name of the Emperor gold and silver altar vases and a coloured pennant embroidered in gold. They also put up a stone tablet with an inscription, and bestowed imperial gifts on the king of the country and his chiefs.

The King A-lieh-k'u-na-erh[1] showed himself ungrateful, and formed a plot to injure (the mission). The admiral, the eunuch

1. Alagakōnāra, i.e., Vijaya Bāhu, VI, 1397-1409.

Cheng Ho, secretly made his preparations, and having previously issued orders, his messengers advanced rapidly and silently (lit., "gag in mouth"). In the middle of the night the guns were fired; they dashed in and captured the king alive.

In the ninth year of Yung-lo (A.D. 1411) the king came to Court and made his submission, and sought the imperial favour. He was forgiven, and the kingdom was restored to what it had been originally. From that time the barbarians of the four quarters have all been filled with fear, and have taken absolutely to cherishing virtue.

—*Hsing ch'a sheng lan.* 26 Hsi-lan shan, tr. Rockhill, T'oung Pao xvi pp. 381-383.

B. *Cochin*

This locality is on a headland facing Hsi-lan (Ceylon). To the interior it confines on Ku-li (Calicut). The climate is constantly hot, the soil is poor, the crops sparse. The villages are on the sea-shore. The usages and customs are honest.

Men and women do their hair in a knot and wear a short shirt and a piece of cotton stuff wrapper around them.

There is a caste of people called Mu-kua (Mukuva); they have no dwellings but live in caves, or nests in the trees. They make their living by fishing in the sea. Both sexes go with the body naked and with a girdle of leaves or grass hanging before and behind. If one of them meets someone, he must crouch down and hide himself by the way-side, where he must wait until he has passed by.

The natural product is a great abundance of pepper. Wealthy people put up broad godowns in which to store it. In their trading transactions they use a small gold coin called *panan* (*fanam*). The goods used in trading are coloured satins, white silk, blue and white porcelain-ware, gold and silver.

Its ruler in grateful recognition of the imperial bounty constantly sends presents to our Court.

—*Hsing ch'a sheng lan,* 30. Ko-chih, tr. Rockhill, T'oung Pao, xvi p. 452.

C. *Calicut*

It can be reached from Hsi-lan (Ceylon) with a favourable wind in ten days. It is an important islet, and together with adja-

cent Seng-kia (la) (Ceylon), is the trade centre for the countries of the Western Ocean. The place is extensive and the soil barren, but wheat is in quite sufficient quantity.

In their customs they are very honest. Those walking along make way for each other; they will not pick up anything on the road. They have not the bastinado as a punishment, they draw a circle with lime on the ground which (the culprit) is forbidden (to pass beyond).

Their ruler and people live far off in the hills. The place for all the business is on the sea-coast.

The men wear a long shirt, around their heads they wrap white cotton stuff. The women wear a short shirt and wrap around them coloured cloth. Strings of gold pendants hang from their ears. On the tops of their heads they wear pearls, jewels, and coral, forming a fringe; on their wrists and ankles are gold and silver bracelets, on their fingers and toes are gold and silver rings set with precious stones. They do up their hair in a knot behind the head. Their faces are white, their hair is black.

There is a caste among them which goes naked; they are called Mu-kua, the same as in Ko-chih (Cochin).

The country produces pepper equal to that of Hsia-li (Hills). They have godowns to store it while waiting to be sold. They have oil of roses, *po-lo-mi* (jack-fruit), cutch, flowered chintzes, coral, pearls, frankincense, putchuk, amber, but all of them are imported there from other countries. The fine horses found there come from the West. They are worth hundreds or thousands of gold coins.

The goods used in trading (by the Chinese) are gold, silver, coloured satins, blue and white porcelain, beads, musk, quicksilver, and camphor.

The ruler, touched by the imperial bounty, constantly sends missions to Court with memorials on leaves of gold, and he presents articles of tribute.

—*Hsing ch'a sheng lan.* 31. Ku-li, tr. Rockhill, T'oung Pao xvi, pp. 461-462.

XXXIV. 1451 A.D. MA HUAN

A. The Nicobars and Ceylon

In the Great Sea are the Tsui-lan shan (the Nicobar islands). There are three or four islands (in the group). The highest is called Su-tu-man.[1] Sailing before the north-east wind they can be reached from Mao shan (Pulo Weh) in three days.

The people all live in caves. All of them, males as well as females, go naked like wild animals, so they grow no rice, but feed on yams, bananas, jack-fruit, and such like things, or on fish and prawns.

There is a foolish story to the effect that if they wore but a little piece of cotton to hide their nakedness, they would have ulcers and sores. This is because when anciently the Buddha crossed the sea, on coming here he took off his clothing and bathed, when the natives stole them. The Buddha thereupon cursed them. It is also commonly said that this is the country of Ch'ih-luan-wu.[2]

Westward from the Tsui-lan islands for seven or eight days (watches) one comes in sight of the Ying-ko-tsui[3] headland, and in another two or three days (watches) one comes to the Buddha Temple Hill, Dondera Head, and to the first place (reached in) Ceylon, the port called Pieh-lo-li.[4] At the foot of the hill by the sea-side there is a huge rock with the mysterious imprint of a foot which is greatly revered. It is about two feet long. Tradition says that it is the impress of the Buddha's foot. In the impress there is a spring which does not dry up. People dip up the water and wash their face and eyes, saying, "The Buddha water will make us clean." Such is the common belief of the people.

1. Possibly an error for Yen-tu-man; An-tuk-man is used for the Andamans by Chau Ju-kua. The Tsui-lan shan of Ma Huan may have included the Andamans.—Rockhill.

2. A name not yet satisfactorily explained; See however, Gerini, *Geog. of Ptolemy*, pp. 386, *n.* 3; 413-15.

3. Phillips renders it by Hawk's Beak Hill.—Duyvendak, p. 47.

4. Beligam, about 13 miles from Galle. The sailing directions given above are, of course, wrong in making junks come to Galle before reaching Beligam and in the number of watches stated as necessary to sail that distance. It seems strange that our Ming authors knew nothing of Colombo which must have been an important port, judging from what Ta-yüan says of it in his days.—Rockhill.

B. *The Maldives*

[Setting sail from Su-men-ta-la past Hsiao-mao-shan (on S. coast of Pulo Weh?), southwestward with a favourable wind one may arrive in this country in ten days. Its native name is Teih Kan. There are no walled towns and the people live close together against the slope of the mountains.]—(Duyvendak).

To the west [the sea-route changes its character]; in the sea there is a gate of rocks like a city gate.

There are eight large islands all bearing the name of Liu, and they row in boats from one to the other. The rest are (called) the "Little Liu," they are approximately three thousand in number, and are (also) called the "three thousand (islands) of the shallow waters."

The people (on the little islands?) all live in caves [and in nests]. They do not know of pulse and grain, but only eat fish and prawns. They have no clothing, but hide their nakedness before and behind with leaves. [When a ship meets untoward conditions of wind and sea, and the ship's master has lost his bearings and the rudder is gone, if one then passes the Liu islands and drifts on to its waters which are drained off, the ship is powerless in the shoals and sinks so that generally they all keep a sharp look out for it.]—(Duyvendak).

In the kingdom of Tieh-kan all are Mussulmans. The habits and customs are virtuous and good, they follow the precepts of their religious teachers. Their occupation is fishing. They like to plant cocoa-nut trees. The complexion of the men is rather dark. They wear a white turban and wrap around their lower parts a small piece of stuff (lit., "a handkerchief").

The women wear [a short upper coat] and also wrap around the lower part of their bodies a small piece of stuff. A large piece of stuff (conceals their faces).[8] In their marriage and funeral ceremonies they follow the rites of their religion.

The climate is constantly as hot as summer. The soil is poor and rice scarce. They have no wheat. In trading they use silver coins.

The native products are laka-wood [but not much] and the cocoa-nut (tree). [Cocoa-nuts are very abundant and people come

8. cf. Ibn Battûta, pp. 253-4 above.

from everywhere to buy them; amongst the merchandise which they sell to other countries there is a kind of cocoa-nut shell, from which those people manufacture a kind of wine-bowl, with legs of rose-wood, the legs and the inside being varnished with native varnish, very unusual. From the fibre on the outer shell of the cocoa-nut they twine fine rope which is heaped up in the houses, and which the people aboard native ships from other places also come to buy. It is sold to other countries for building ships and other uses. In building native ships nails are never used, but with the clefts (the boards) are joined together and tied fast with this kind of rope, wooden wedges being also fixed to them. Then they smear the seams with a native resin so that the water cannot leak through][9] (Duyvendak p. 57).

[People who fish for ambergris often stay at the Liu-islands. They find it when the water rises; it has the colour of resin, but has no odour; when it is burnt there is a rancid smell. Its price is high and it is exchanged against silver.] (Duyvendak p. 57).

[They gather cowrie-shells which are heaped up like a mountain; they catch them in a net and let them rot and sell them to other places; they are sold under the name of *hai-liu-yu.*[10]] (Duyvendak p. 58.)

They weave silk handkerchiefs very finely and decidedly better than elsewhere; they weave also gold (embroidered) handkerchiefs, which the men wrap around their heads. [Some are sold for five ounces of silver.]

[There are not many vegetables.] They have cattle, sheep, domestic fowl, and ducks. [One or two Chinese trading-ships also go to that place to buy ambergris and cocoa-nut. It is however a small country.]

—*Ying yai sheng lan.* 14 Liu-shan Tieh-kan. Tr. Rockhill: T'oung Pao xvi, pp. 388-390. (Modified by Duyvendak, *Ma Huan Re-examined,* Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xxxii No. 3.)

9. For this passage Rockhill's text reads: "The skin of the coconut (i.e., the fibre) can be twisted into rope, which is strung through boards for making ships, and they are smeared with resin (*li-ch ing*); (these ships) are as strong as if iron nails had been used."

10. Rockhill has: "They gather cowrie-shells and sell them to Ko-la in Hsien-lo (Kédah in Siam), where they are used as money. They slice sharks' flesh to sell to the neighbouring countries; it is called *liu-yü* (i.e., 'Maldive fish.')

C. *Ko-Chih, Cochin*

(Ma Huan's account: a *precis*, by Geo. Phillips)

Cochin is described as a day and a night's sail[11] from Coilum, the present Quilon, most probably the Kaulam Malai of the Arabs (*vide* Yule's Glossary under Malabar), known to the Chinese navigators of the Tang dynasty, A.D. 618-913, as Mūhlai.

The king or ruler is of the solar race,[12] and is a sincere believer in Buddhism,[13] and has the greatest reverence for elephants and oxen; and every morning at day-light prostrates himself before an image of Buddha.[14] The king wears no clothing on the upper part of his person; he has simply a square of silk wound round his loins, kept in place by a coloured waist-band of the same material, and on his head a turban of yellow or white cotton cloth. The dress of the officers and the rich differs but little from that of the king. The houses are built of the wood of the cocoanut-tree and are thatched with its leaves, which render them perfectly water-tight.[15]

There are five classes of men in this kingdom. The Nairs[16] rank with the king. In the first class are those who shave their heads, and have a thread or string hanging over their shoulder, these are looked upon as belonging to the noblest families.[17] In the second are the Muhammadans; in the third the Chittis, who are the capitalists; in the fourth the Kolings, who act as commission agents; in the fifth the Mukuas, who are the lowest and poorest of all. The Mukuas live in houses which are forbidden by the Government to be more than three feet high, and they are not allowed to wear long garments; when abroad, if they happen to meet a Nair or a Chitti they at once prostrate themselves on the ground, and dare not rise until they have passed by; these Mukuas get their living by fishing and carrying burdens.

11. To the North-west.—Rockhill.
12. A So-li man.—Rockhill.
13. Ma Huan makes no distinction between Buddhism and Hinduism.
14. Rockhill has also this: "He has built a temple in which the image of the god (*lit.*, Buddha) is of gold, and the dais has knobs of blue stone. It is surrounded by a moat, and on the side he has sunk a well. Every day at dawn to the sound of bells they draw water from the spring and pour it over the head of the god a number of times. This is the only ceremony."
15. Rockhill adds: 'Besides this each home builds a store house for its property to escape the danger of fire and thieves.'
16. Nan-K'uen in Ma Huan's text.—Geo. Phillips.
17. Most probably the Brahmins.—Geo. Phillips.

The merchants of this country carry on their business like pedlars do in China. Here also is another class of men, called Chokis (Yogi), who lead austere lives like the Taoists of China, but who, however, are married. These men from the time they are born do not have their heads shaved or combed, but plait their hair into several tails, which hang over their shoulders;[18] they wear no clothes, but round their waists they fasten a strip of rattan, over which they hang a piece of white calico; they carry a conch-shell, which they blow as they go along the road; they are accompanied by their wives, who simply wear a small bit of cotton cloth round their loins. Alms of rice and money are given to them by the people whose houses they visit.

In this country there are two seasons, the wet and the dry. In the first two months of the rainy season there are only passing showers, during which time the people lay in a stock of provisions; in the next two months there is a continual downpour day and night, so that the streets and market places are like rivers, and no one is able to go out of doors; during the last two months the rain gradually ceases, and then not a drop falls for another six months. The soil is unproductive; pepper, however, grows on the hills and is extensively cultivated; this article is sold at five taels the P'o-ho,[19] which is 400 cattis of Chinese weight.

All trading transactions are carried on by the Chittis, who buy the pepper from the farmers when it is ripe, and sell it to foreign ships when they pass by. They also buy and collect precious stones and other costly wares. A pearl weighing three-and-a-half candareens can be bought for a hundred ounces of silver. Coral is sold by the catti; inferior pieces of coral are cut into beads and polished by skilled workmen; these are also sold by weight. The coinage of the country is a gold piece, called Fa-nan, weighing one candareen; there is also a little silver coin called a Ta-urh, which is used for making small purchases in the market. Fifteen Ta-urhs make a Fa-nan. There are no asses or geese in this country, and there is neither wheat nor barley; rice, maize, hemp, and millet abound. Articles of tribute are sent to China by our ships on their return voyage.

—Geo. Phillips in JRAS 1896, pp. 341-44; *cf.* Rockhill. T'oung Pao xvi pp. 449-52.

18. 'They smear their bodies with ashes of cowdung.'—Rockhill.

19. Bahar. A commercial weight which differs greatly in many places. Pepper at Cochin apparently sold, reckoning the tael at 6s. 8d., at £1 13s. 4d., or less than a penny a pound.—Phillips.

D. *Ku-li, Calicut*

This sea port, of which Ma Huan gives us a most lengthy account is described as a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from all quarters. It is three days' sail from Cochin, by which it is bordered on the south; on the north it adjoins Cannanore (K'an-nu-urh); it has the sea on the west; and on the east, through the mountains, at a distance of 500 *li* (167 miles), is the kingdom or city of K-an-pa-mei,[20] a great seat of cotton manufacture where is made, as also in the surrounding districts, a cloth called Chih-li (Chih-li-pu) cloth. It is made up into pieces, four feet five inches wide and twenty-five feet long; it is sold there for eight or ten gold pieces of their money. They also prepare raw silk for the loom which they dye various shades of colour and then weave into flowered pattern goods made up into pieces four to five feet wide and twelve to thirteen feet long. Each length is sold for one hundred gold pieces of their money.

To return to Calicut, much pepper is grown on the hills. Cocoanuts are extensively cultivated, many farmers owning a thousand trees; those having a plantation of three thousand are looked upon as wealthy proprietors. The king belongs to the Nair class, and, like his brother of Cochin, is a sincere follower of Buddha, and as such does not eat beef; his overseer, being a Muhammadan, does not eat pork. This led, it is said, in times past, to a compact being made between the king and his overseer, to the effect that if the king would give up eating pork the overseer would give up eating beef. This compact has been most scrupulously observed by the successors of both parties upto the present day. The king at his devotions prostrates himself before an image of Buddha every morning; which being over, his attendants collect all the cow-dung about the place, and smear it over the image of the god. Some of the dung the king orders to be burnt to ashes and put into a small cotton bag, which he continually wears upon his person; and when his morning ablutions are over, he mixes some of the powdered dung with water and smears it over his forehead and limbs; by so doing he considers he is showing Buddha the greatest reverence.

Many of the king's subjects are Muhammadans, and there are twenty or thirty mosques in the kingdom, to which the people resort

20. Koyampāḍi, a former name of Coimbatore. (Geo. Phillips); Cambay (Rockhill who writes K'an-pa-i). Duyvendak and Pelliot agree with Phillips, and cite a Chinese work copying the form K'an-pa-yi-ti from Ma Huan, TP. xxx. (1933) p. 290, n. 1.

every seventh day for worship. On this day, during the morning, the people being at the mosque, no business whatever is transacted; and in the after part of the day, the services being over, business is resumed.

CHINESE SHIPS

When a ship arrives from China, the king's overseer and a Chitti go on board and make an invoice of the goods, and a day is settled for valuing the cargo. On the day appointed the silk goods, more especially the Khinkis (Kincobs), are first inspected and valued, which when decided on, all present join hands, whereupon the broker says, " The price of your goods is now fixed, and cannot in any way be altered."

The price to be paid for pearls and precious stones is arranged by the Weinaki broker, and the value of the Chinese goods taken in exchange for them is that previously fixed by the broker in the way above stated.

They have no abacus on which to make their calculations, but in its place they use their toes and fingers, and, what is very wonderful, they are never wrong in their reckonings.

The succession to the throne is settled in a somewhat curious manner. The king is not succeeded by his son, but by his sister's son, because his nephew, being born of his sister's body is considered nearer to him by blood. If the king has no sister the succession goes to his brother; if he has no brother it goes to a man of ability and worth. Such has been the rule for many generations.

ORDEAL

Trial by ordeal is much practised in this country, such as thrusting the finger of the accused into boiling oil, and then keeping him in jail for two or three days. If after that time the finger is ulcerated he is pronounced guilty and sentenced to punishment; but if his finger has received no injury he is at once set free, and escorted home by musicians engaged by the overseer. On his arrival home his relatives, neighbours, and friends make him presents and rejoice and feast together.

The jack fruit and the plantain abound in this country, which is also well supplied with melons, gourds, and turnips, and every other kind of vegetable. Ducks, herons, and swallows are numbered among the feathered tribe, and there are bats as large as vultures, which hang suspended from the trees.

As in Cochin, the money in circulation is the Fa-ñan and the Ta-urh. Their weights are the P'o-ho and the Fan-la-shih, and there is a measure called a Tang-ko-li.[21]

The king's present to the Emperor is usually a gold-plaited girdle set with all kinds of precious stones and pearls.

—Geo. Phillips in JRAS 1896, 345-48; *cf.* Rockhill; T'oung Pao xvi, pp. 455-60.

21. cf. Mal. Caṅṅaḷi

APPENDIX I

NAVIGATION TOWARDS THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Ibn Majid (in a work dated 1489-90 A.D.) says: "As to what concerns the entry to Malaka while coming from Kalikut, sometimes the monsoon scatters the ships and sometimes carries them beyond it. The only exception is in the case of the well-armed ships coming from Campâ, ready to set sail at the commencement of *niruz* or about that time. The monsoon brings back to Malaka ships from Hormuz and from Mekka and the late ships enter there (Malaka) on the 120th (day of niruz)".

We may deduce from this passage that Malaka was in regular communication with India, Southern Arabia, the Red Sea and Campâ in the last years of the 15th century.

—Ferrand, *Malaka Le Malâyu et Malâyur,* JA. 11 : 11 (1918), p. 401.

APPENDIX II

THE ROLE OF GUJARATIS

In February 1511, Albuquerque went from Cochin to Malaka with a flotilla of 18 ships: The *Commentaries* say:

"When they arrived at Ceylon, being East-West in relation to the isle of Sumatra, they descried a ship. Albuquerque gave orders to come alongside of it and they took it. They rejoiced much (to find) that it was a ship (armed) with Guzaratis, and they concluded from it that they were on the right path, for the (Gujaratis) know this route much better than all the other nations, because of the great commerce they have with these (eastern) countries."[1]

—Ferrand, JA. 11:12 (1918) p. 165.
Cf. *Commentaries*, vol. iii, p. 58.

1. Hobson-Jobson under *Java* cites the *Ras Mala*:
It is a saying in Goozerat—
Who goes to Java
Never returns.
If by chance he returns,
Then for two generations to live upon,
Money enough he brings back.

APPENDIX III

INDIAN MERCHANTS AND MERCHANDISE IN MALAKA (16TH CENTURY)

i. Duarte Barbosa

" Many Moorish merchants reside in it, and also Gentiles, particularly Chetis, who are natives of Cholmendel (Coromandel): and they are all very rich and have many large ships, which they call jungos (junks). They deal in all sorts of goods in different parts, and many other Moorish and Gentile merchants flock thither from other countries to trade; some in ships of two masts from China and other places, and they bring thither much silk in skeins, many porcelain vases, damasks, brocades, satins of many colours, they deal in musk, rhubarb, coloured silks, much iron, saltpetre, fine silver, many pearls and seed pearl, chests, painted fans, and other toys, pepper, wormwood, Cambay stuffs, scarlet cloths, saffron, coral polished and rough, many stuffs of Palecate, of coloured cotton, others white from Bengal, vermilion, quicksilver, opium and other merchandise, and drugs from Cambay; amongst which there is a drug which we (Portuguese) do not possess and which they call putchô, and another called cachô,[1] and another called magican, which are gall nuts, which they bring from Levant to Cambay, by way of Mekkah, and they are worth a great deal in China and Java ".

—Cited by Ferrand JA. 11 : 11 (1918) pp. 407-8. Cf. Longworth Dames ii 172-3.

ii. Castanheda.

"....In the northern part (of the city) live merchants known as Quelins (kling, the people of Kalinga from India); in this part the town is much larger than at any other......There are at Malaca, many foreign merchants, who, I said before, live among themselves; they are moors and pagans. The pagans come principally from Paleacate; they are installed permanently; they are very rich; they are the greatest merchants of the world at this period. They evaluate their wealth only by bahar of gold; there are some possessing 60 quintals (quintal = 100 kilogrammes) of gold. They do not consider as

1. Putchok; Catechu.—Hobson-Jobson.

rich the merchant who, in a single day, does not buy three or four ships charged with merchandises of great value, and make them reload (the ships) and pay them their proper amounts. Thus, this port is the most important and has the richest merchandises known to the whole world.......They (the Chinese ships) buy pepper, cloth from Cambaya, from Bengal and from Paleacate; grains, saffron, yellow coral, red lead, mercury, opium, the drugs of Cambaya called *cacho* and *pucho* and other articles of merchandise which come there by the Red Sea...... (There come *paraos* laden with) pepper from Malabar. There come likewise merchants from the whole of India, from the Coromandel, from Bengal, from Tenasarim, from Pegu with provisions and rich merchandise. They carry likewise to Malaca the cloves of Molucus, the camphor of Borneo, the mace and the black nutmeg of Banda, the white and red sandal of Timor. Thus, as I said already, this is at this epoch the largest and the richest emporium in the world."

—Castanheda (1528-38): Bk II ch. ii. on the city of Malaca: cited by Ferrand—JA. 11: 12 (1918) pp. 148-9.

APPENDIX IV

Extracts from the Mohit, the *Ocean*,[1] a Turkish work by Sīdī Ali Capudan (1554) on navigation in the Indian Seas. Translated by Joseph von Hammer.

EIGHTH VOYAGE FROM ADEN TO GUJERAT.

If you start from Aden, you go true east till you lose sight of the mountains of Aden; you continue to hold the same route a day and a night, then E. by N., till the Southern wind sets in, then E. N. E. if possible, and if not, you follow the above course and go then E. N. E.; if there be little motion with the Awelama (?) there is no harm in it; if a closer course is pursued you side to E. by N. and return from thence again to E. N. E. till the measure is equal; in this measure Lyra[2] is five inches, or Sagitta six inches, or Canopus and Lyra are equal to three inches and a half. Under this measure (height) you see in the sea frequently sea snakes, which ought to be taken care of, as it is a good sign; if you do not see them follow your way in the direction right east till you see them, and then change again your course to E. by N. till you see land. The best rule is to trust to the soundings and not to the sea-snakes, which, if they prove true, show themselves twice and thrice a day. Be it known, that sometimes in the monsoon *Damani* the ship is thrown by the current towards the Persian shore like mount Koholad Dabbaghat; at this time the ship finds itself in the barbarian channel; there great precaution is necessary against the whirlpools; besides this place there are such between Gujerat and Sind in the gulph Jakad, where the wind blows continually from the sea, and the current comes from the shore, so that waves and contrary currents are not wanting, and a ship falling in with them runs great risk to be lost, if it is not saved by the grace of God; so it is necessary to avoid these places. You must turn from the Persian shore to the Arabian, and steer N. N. E. and N. E. by N. till you are out of reach of this dangerous place, after which you steer again E.N.E. Know that the wind of Canopus (S.S.E.) is not to be trusted till the pole is made with six inches or six inches and a quarter; the flood runs then true E. The signs of a tempest are great distress, and the summer birds called in Yaman, *ijam*, also the birds *bani safaf* and *amm ul sanani*; these birds keep then to

1. Ferrand, *Relations*, ii 484.
2. There must be some mistake in these stars.—(J. von Hammer).

the shore, flying in the summer on the sea; sometimes you see them till where the pole is made with nine inches (Lat. 19°54′).

—JASB. v (1836) pp. 456-57.

FOURTEENTH VOYAGE, FROM ADEN TO MONEMBAR, (MALABAR).

The course is the same which has been already mentioned before from Aden to Gujerat; you go on till the pole marks six inches and a half or seven inches;[3] if from thence you can go tacking, you go in the direction of E. by S. or true east; if it is impossible to keep this course, your way is E. by N. till the pole is made by seven inches and half or eight inches; from thence you follow the direction E. by S. till the pole is made with six inches,[4] then true east till land is in sight, which is A'zadiw[5] or a place near it; you steer then towards the shore; what is meant by the inches, assaba, and the pole or polar star *jah* has been explained in the former chapters.

—*ib*. p. 458.

TWENTIETH VOYAGE, FROM DABUL TO THE ISLANDS OF DIB.

You follow first the direction W.S.W. till you lose the shore, from thence to Daira S.W. by W. till land is in sight; from thence S.S.E. till the pole comes to three inches, from thence to the south pole and S.S.W. till the Farkadain (β and γ in the little bear) are marked by eight inches and a half; from thence true west to Foyuka or its neighbourhood. Mark what has been said above; till land is in sight steering S.W. by W., that means, that the land is at hand. Be it known to you that in some of the islands of the Maldives the inhabitants hunt with dogs, bred to the purpose, the Orang-ootang (Nisnaus) and eat it. The Nisnaus is an animal resembling a monkey, but endowed with speech; but generally monkeys are also called Nisnaus. I have heard from the brother of Janum Hamza, the late Intendant of Egypt, that coming one day on commercial business at the extremity of Yaman to a walled village, he alighted at a house where two boys lying on the ground were crying, and that out of commiseration he untied their fetters. The master of the house, returning, laughed at it, and said, these

3. About Lat. 17.°
4. Lat. 15°.
5. Ajideeva near Ankola, lat. 14°40′.

are Nisnaus, which we hunt. The next day the master of the house took his disbelieving guest with him, and he saw the Nisnaus hunted by dogs. Some Nisnaus emerge from the sea, their flesh is a great dainty; that they are endowed with the power of speech is even recorded in the books of philosophers .

—*ib.* pp. 461-62.

TWENTY-SIXTH VOYAGE, FROM CALICUT TO KARDAFUN.

If you sail from Calicut with a favourable wind, steer W. by S. and sometimes W.S.W. so you come to the island Kolfaini;[6] if at this time, that is to say, on the 140th day of the Yazdajerdian year, which the fifth of Jelalian (March), the sea shuts, the flood runs at this time N.N.W. from thence you direct your course to the south pole, and go tacking if the flood runs to the south pole, but if the wind falls lower, then this course to S.W., S.W. by S. and S.S.W, you may follow it a day and a night without inconvenience. If it should fall yet lower, turn and steer to the north pole or near it, particularly if the pole is made by less than three inches (lat.10°), because it is profitable to be then high north, and the wind grows favourable; if it be already so, you run from Calicut till Kolfaini two *zams* in the direction of W. by S., then eight of nine *zams* W.S.W. then you may rejoice, as you have got clear of the islands of Ful, from thence W. by N. and W.N.W. till the pole is four inches and a quarter, and then true west to Kardafun. Calicut is famous for its pepper plantations: its Prince is the Saumeru who is at war with the Portuguese. On these coasts are a great number of elephants employed in dragging ships, launching them into the sea, and similar doings.

—*ib.* p. 465.

TWENTY-SEVENTH VOYAGE, FROM DIU TO MALACCA.

Leaving Diu you go first S.S.E. till the pole is five inches, and side then towards the land, till the distance between it and between the ship is six *zams*; from thence you steer S.S.E., because in the neighbourhood of Ceylon, the sea runs high, the further you keep off the more quiet the sea grows; you must not side all at once but by degrees, first till the *farkadain* (β and γ in the little bear) are made by a quarter less than eight inches, from thence to S.E. till the *farkadain* are seven inches and a quarter, from thence true east at a rate of 18 *zams*, then you have passed Ceylon. The sign of Ceylon being near is continual lightning, be it accompanied by rain or

6. Calpeni, one of the Laccadives.

without rain; so that the lightning of Ceylon is grown proverbial for a liar. After having passed Ceylon you go E.N.E. and E. by N. till the pole is made by two inches, from thence true E. till to the island of Sarjal which is one of the Najbari (Nicobarian) islands. After having left it behind you steer E. by S. till land is in sight, you go along it to the islands Falusanbilen[7] which are nine islands; from thence to the south pole. At your right some islands are seen at a distance, so you go towards the south pole till you come to the islands to Folodjora[8] which appear near, from thence E.S.E. where the sea is more than ten fathoms, if it be 11 or 12 never mind, because after 12 is the deep sea, and you are clear of the Shob Kafaussi. You go till mount Folupasalar is opposite, N.E. till the soundings give 24 fathoms, because there is a bent *shab* running out in the sea, which is to be taken care of—wherefore your course must be followed always in a depth of 24 fathoms till you see the mount Folupasalar N.N.E.,; then you steer towards the land and Diaraibarra (E.N.E.) till Malacca. The inhabitants of Shuli[9] (?) go from Falusanbilen two *zams* to the south pole.

—*ib.* pp. 465-66.

TWENTY-EIGHTH VOYAGE FROM DIU TO SHATIJAM,[10] I.E., TO BENGAL.

Sailing from Diu, your course, till you have left Ceylon behind you, is the same as the above mentioned, then you steer N.E. Ceylon remaining on the western side; then N.E. by N. till you come opposite to Rakanj,[11] where the pole is made with a quarter wanting to nine, and the *Aselli* scarce with six inches; if in this course you see land it is well; if not, steer E.N.E. till the pole is nine inches and a half, so you come to the island of Dardiw. If you see it at this time it is well, if not go right east till you see land, but take care of Fesht Hayumiun,[12] which is a desert rock, round which the water is twenty fathoms deep; take care also of Dardiw[13] where the water is but five fathoms. If Rakanj is in

7. Pulo Sambelan on the Malay Coast, lat. 4°5'.
8. The Arroas islands.
9. Doubtless the Cōḷa country.
10. Chittagong.
11. Arrakan, lat. 20° 10'.
12. Probably oyster island, a barren rock off Arrakan, or St. Martin's reef. (J. von Hammer).
13. Probably Nardial or Narkol deep of Horsburgh, off the *Tek Naaf* entrance. (J. von Hammer).

sight, go N.N.W. with 25 fathoms of water. At this time Hayumium remains on your right, of which great care is to be taken. After having passed it you approach the land till your soundings give 16 fathoms, and with this course you come to Dardiw; after having left it behind you go with 12 fathoms depth N.N.W., there you come to a great Khur(?) called Bakal,[14] and then five capes which are taken for islands by those who don't know them; then comes a Ghobba, that is to say, a gulf full of shallows, shoals and breakers; this place is called Kakar Diwa,[15] then you come to the island Zenjilia[16] which is facing you, your way lies N.N.W. When you approach this Island, side to the sea, because its southern cape is *rikk*, that is to say, a shallow, and the colour of the water grows white; meanwhile, on the sea side it is seen green. Hold that course, and you will find better soundings by degrees till you come to 17 and 18 fathoms. Coming to this place you find the water again whitish, these shallows are on the south side of Fesht Gurian, which is a desert place; here the sea is noisy, don't keep either too near to the island of Zenjilia, nor too far from it but steer a middle course; if the soundings give 18 fathoms or near it, you have passed Zenjilia; then you go in the direction of the north-pole, and continue to take soundings till you come to seven fathoms; from thence you steer in the direction of the north pole, and to the rising place of the β and γ of the little bear, till your soundings are six fathoms but not less. So you come to cape *KHur* which is Shatijam. Here you stop till the *rebban* (tide) come, with which you enter the port. Bengal is abundant in ivory and ebony; the finest muslin turbans, the very best jutar,[17] and most precious Indian stuffs come from thence; the finest muslin sashes are called *malmal*, and the most precious of them *malmali-shahi*, which by confusion is generally named *marmare-shahi* (royal marble); there are also sea-bulls, the best of them are found between Bengal and Delhi in the interior lake; they are called sea bulls, although they don't live in the sea, but in the interior lakes on the land; but the merchants call them so; for in the interior northern lakes, in the mountains of the Afghans, are also found the rhinoceros (Karkadan, the name

14. Probably Mascall island (J. von Hammer).

15. Cutub-deep, south of Chittagong. (J. von Hammer).

16. Though there is no such island now there might have been one in Sidi's time. (J. von Hammer, citing Lieut. Lloyd of the Indian Navy).

17. Chautar, a fine cloth, so called from its four threads. (J. von Hammer).

quite the same as the Krokotos of Ctesias), but their horns are but two palms long; it is related that those which are found in Abyssinia have much longer horns. Giraffes are found but in Abyssinia and never in India.

JASB. v. (1836), pp. 466-67.

ADDENDA

I

The following notice of Ma Twan-lin (middle of the thirteenth century A.D.) is worth noting along with the passage from Pan Kou reproduced in extract II above:

HOANG-TCHI

The kingdom of Hoang-tchi sent, for the first time, some ambassadors at the time of Han and since the reign of Emperor Ou-ti[1] regularly paid the visit of homage. It is situated at (a distance of) 30,000 *li* to the south of Hopou and Ji-nan.[2] Its customs resembled those of the country of Tchu-yai[3]. It furnished beautiful pearls, *lieouli*, fine stones, and many curious things. Pearls which are nearly two *tsun*[4] in circumference are found there, and others smaller, with a perfect roundness, which when laid on a polished surface, keep moving the whole day, before coming to a standstill.

—*Ethnographie*, Meridionaux, ed. Hervey de Saint-Denys, pp. 412-13.

II

The long notice on the Cōḷa country in Ma Twan-lin is well worth comparing with that of Chau Ju-kua (*ante* pp. 141-7). The two accounts have much in common, but there are also important differences which go to show the diverse character of the sources the two authors drew upon for composing their accounts:

TCHU-LIEN

On the eastern side, this kingdom is 5000 *li* along the sea-board. On the western side 1500 *li* separate it from Western India (*Tien-tcho*). On the southern side, it is situated 2,500 *li* from *Lo-lan*; and on the northern side 3,000 *li* from *Tuntien*. It had

1. 140-86 B.C. Deguignes said: 'The country of *Hoang-tchi* is situated in India, but I do not know its exact position'—Hervey de Saint-Denys.
2. Tong-King—H. de. S-D.
3. Southern part of the Isle of Hainan—H. de S-D.
4. Nearly three centimetres—H. de S-D.

no communication with China in the olden days. 'In order to go there, setting out from *Kouangtcheou,* it is necessary to go by sea a distance of nearly 411,400 *li.*

The capital of *Tchu-lien* has seven enclosing walls, with a height of seven *tchi,* and a hundred paces apart from one another. The outermost enclosure has a diameter of twelve *li* from south to north, and seven *li* from east to west. The first four walls are built of brick; the two following are of mud, and that of the interior is of wood. All are covered with espaliers, or decorated with flowers. The first three enclosures are occupied by the people and include numerous water courses. The fourth enclosure contains the houses of four great officers. The fifth enclosure belongs to the sons of the king. In the sixth is a temple of Buddha, served by hundred Buddhist priests. Finally the seventh contains the palace of the king, or royal town, comprising more than four hundred buildings. The towns of the second order are thirty-one in number, twelve to the west of the royal residence, eight to the south, and eleven to the north. The reigning dynasty has occupied the throne for three generations[5].

The administration of justice is entrusted by the king to one of his four great officers. Those who have committed offences are put in fetters and receive from fifty to a hundred strokes with rods. The criminals are beheaded or crushed under the feet of an elephant.

During feasts, the king and the four great officers salute each other, crossing their hands, and inclining the body like the Buddhist priests; then they all sit together. They eat meat, but they do not drink wine. They have different sorts of soups, cakes and particular dishes of very good taste. They wear cotton clothes. The feast is accompanied by music, singing and dances. The service is done by women.

For marriages, the suitor sends at first a mediatrix to the family of the young girl, whom he courts, offering her a ring of gold or silver. Three days after, the relatives of the young man, join and consult together to determine if they could, according to their resources, give to the new household some fields, domestic animals, or only palm wine and some areca nuts and so on. From their side, the future relations send to the fiancé some gold or silver rings; some pieces of cloth; and some beautiful clothes for his

5. This may imply that this part of the notice dates from the time of Rājarāja I.

wife. These preliminaries ended, if the young man refuses to marry the young girl, he should send back the tokens of betrothal that he has received, and if it is the young girl who wishes to retract, she ought to restore twice the presents she has accepted.

When war is carried on, the order of battle is as follows: In the front rank are placed the elephants, behind the elephants are the lightly armed men, protected with small shields; then soldiers armed with lances having points resembling the weaver's shuttle; then the infantry handling long swords; and lastly the archers forming the rear guard. The four great officers command all the available forces by divisions. About 2500 *li* to the south-east of the kingdom of Tchu-lien is the kingdom of *Si-lantchi*. War sometimes breaks out between these two countries. Tchu-lien produces pearls, coral, crystal, areca-nuts, nutmeg, cotton *ki-pei*, etc. Elephants, goats, oxen, pheasants, parrots; a lot of white jasmine and a quantity of other flowers, are also found there. Its fruits are the jujube, cocoanut palm, plum tree, jack, etc. The inhabitants cultivate the legumes, green and black, as well as many sorts of grains, notably wheat and rice. The bamboo thrives on their soil.

This kingdom which in antiquity never had communications with the Empire, sent ambassadors for the first time under the dynasty of Song. They arrived at the ninth moon, of the eighth year *ta-tchong-siang-fou* (1009); the chief of them, named *Cha-li-san-ouen,* was one of the four great officers of the reigning king *Lo-tcha-lo-tcha.* Then came a second ambassador named *Pou-kia-sin* and two councillors whose names were *Ong-ou-fang* and *Ya-kin-kia.* These strangers brought a letter from their sovereign for the Emperor, with the presents offered as tribute. They advanced right up to the steps of the throne, and there deposited these pearls and precious stones, on a tray, and drawing back to the furthest end of the hall of audience, made two deep bows. The interpreter explained that they meant by that to show their respect and their attachment from far as well as from near.

The letter of the king was more or less to the following effect: "I, Lo-tcha-lo-tcha, your subject, I have learnt through a merchant vessel which visited my kingdom that the great dynasty of Song was ruling the Empire, that already two emperors of your race had occupied the throne, that to-day the mandate of Heaven has been gloriously acquired by you. Some words of antiquity which have happily come to me, have first of all inspired the desire

to render homage to you.[6] Soon, I knew that your beneficial influence extends far, that your subjects are very submissive, that your high merit surpasses that of all your predecessors. You practise justice; you maintain peace by the sole power of your virtue. You are strong and formidable; but you do not like to strike. Also, all the peoples turn towards you. You know to instruct the men and serve the Supreme Lord with a sincere piety. Your goodness extends even to the feeble reed; it reaches the fishes in the depths of the sea. That is why Heaven enlightens you, and protects you; that is why the graces descend on you, manifest, constant and brilliant. I, your subject, I am humble and small; I reside, as have resided my ancestors, in a barbarous town, very far from the shining light of Chinese civilization. I see in some way, by the light of candles. However the noise of your praises which fills the world, could not fail to move me. My age, the stretch of the seas which separate us, and the great difficulties on the route to traverse, do not permit me to go, in order to carry myself the tribute that I wish to offer you; but if it is forbidden me to contemplate from near and with my own eyes, the brilliance of your glory, I pour out, at least in this letter, the sincerity of my heart, and I send you respectfully the best products of my country. Just as ants are attracted by a sweet smell, as the sun-flower is drawn towards the sun as by an irresistible charm, so will be my envoys, to the number of fifty-two, arriving at the foot of your throne. I have ordered them to offer you a robe and cap decorated with pearls, pearls of different sizes weighing about 21,000 *leang*;[7] sixty pieces of ivory and sixty pounds of incense."

The ambassadors distributed besides, personally, their own presents, 6,600 *leang* of pearls and 3,300 pounds of perfumes.[8]

The words of antiquity to which the king Lo-tcha-lo-tcha made allusion in his letter were those which had been pronounced by the skipper of the foreign vessel which visited his kingdom who had said: "During these ten years, there have been no storms at sea."

6. This is explained later.

7. Sixteenth part of the Chinese pound of about 38 grammes. Thus nearly 800 kilogrammes of fine pearls are meant—exaggeration so fantastic as not to merit the least discussion.—H. de S-D.

8. Another exaggeration not less ridiculous than the preceding. Ma Twan-lin is himself critical of the Song notices of Tchu-lien.—H. de S-D.

The sense of these legendary words was that for ten years the Empire had for master a pious prince, endowed with all the virtues. Hence the desire of the king to send ambassadors to the court of China.

San Ouen,[9] and his suite, having navigated in the beginning during seventy-seven days and nights, and passed before the Isles *No-ou-tan* and *Po-li-si-lan* arrived at the kingdom of *Tchen-pin*. Pursuing their course, sailing night and day, and passing before the Isle *Y-ma-lo-li*, their vessel reached the coasts of the kingdom of *Kou-lo* after a sixty-one days' journey. The kingdom of *Kou-lo* contains a high mountain called *Kou-lo*, to which it owes its name. Again sixty-one days and nights of navigation, and the voyagers, after having left behind them the Isles *Kia-pa*, *Kou-po-lao*, and *Tcheou-pao-long*, anchored on the shores of San-fo-tsi. Continuing to advance during eighteen days and nights, after traversing the mouth of the river *Man-chan* and coasting the Isles of Tien-tcho, they found themselves, in sight of the Isle of *Pin-teou-lang*. and could see in the distance, about 100 *li* towards the east, the tomb of *Si-ouang mou*.[10] They travelled again twenty days and twenty nights, passed the Islands of Yang-chan and *Kieou-sing-chan*, touched at the island of *Pi-pa*, and landed finally at the port Koung-tcheou (Canton) after a voyage of 1,150 days.

The Emperor issued instructions to receive them with the greatest regard and to accord to them the same honours as to the envoys of *Kouei-tse* for all that concerns the ceremonial of audience, the invitations to official dinners, etc. As they celebrated this year, the tenth anniversary of the coming of Tchin-tsong,[11] San-Ouen, and his companions went to the Buddhist temple of *Ki-ching-chenyouen*, wishing to unite their prayers with those of the Buddhist priests who invoked Heaven to accord longevity to this prince.

In the fourth year *tien-hi* (1020), a second embassy from Tchu-lien entered the port of Kouang-tcheou. Hardly had he disembarked, the first ambassador named *Pa-lan-te-molie* died of an exhausting illness. The credentials brought by him were sent to the court. The Emperor responded giving orders to treat honourably all the strangers who formed the suite of the late ambassador, and send them away with very rich presents.

9. The first of the Cōḻa ambassadors named above.
10. A quasi-historical and quasi-fabulous figure.—H. de S-D.
11. The reigning emperor.—H. de S-D.

In the second year *Ming-tao* (1033), a new ambassador of Tchu-lien, arrived. He bore a letter from his sovereign written in characters of gold. He offered as tribute a dress, and a cap ornamented with pearls, hundred and five *leang* of pearls and hundred pieces of ivory. This ambassador declared that many embassies which had left his country to go to China had been surprised by storms at sea, and had perished along with their goods. He showed a great desire to be able to advance right up to the base of the Imperial throne to perform there, with the pearls of the first choice, the ceremony called *Sa-tien*,[12] the greatest evidence of respect and attachment in his own view. The permission having been given him, he put his pearls on a silver tray which he raised above his head after kneeling down; then he spread them at the feet of the Emperor. This ambassador was called *Pou-ya-toli*. Honorary titles were given to him.

In the tenth year *hi-ning* (1077) envoys of Tchu-lien appeared again at the court. They were twenty-seven in number. They offered pearls as big as peas, a big piece of *lieou-li*, camphor, the teeth of rhinoceros, beautiful textiles, incense, diverse perfumes, essence of roses, medicinal plants, borax and spices. The chief among them, having accomplished the ceremony of *Sa-tien*, the Emperor conferred on him a very high title and caused to be given to him precious medicines from the Imperial pharmacy. The other envoys were gratified with numerous presents, consisting above all of silks, and this embassy bore for the king of Tchu-lien 81,800 strings of cash[13] with 52,000 taels of silver.[14]

In conclusion, if we wish to examine seriously all that is just related (according to the annals) on this kingdom of Tchu-lien, situated precisely at the distance of 411,400 *li* by sea from the port of Kouang-tcheou, the voyage to it requiring a navigation of 1,150 days, one will scarcely find three facts meriting to be put beyond doubt: to know that Tchu-lien was a country very far from China, that it has never communicated with the Empire in olden days, and that it offered for the first time the tribute in the middle of the years *ta-tchong-siang-fou*. As to the letter of the king Lo-

12. This consists in spreading on the steps of the throne, camphor mixed with pearls.—H. de S-D.

13. 'Sapèques' is the French word employed. A small Chinese billon coin with a square hole in the centre.—H. de S-D.

14. The whole works to about 3000 kilogrammes of silver.—H. de S-D.

tcha-lo-tcha, it suffices to note its elaborate style, full of phrases and rhetoric purely Chinese, without the least foreign turn of inspiration, to judge that it has not even been drawn up at some distance by one of those emigrated half-literate Chinese who posseses the Kao-kiu-li and the Kiao-tchi. It is the work of a veritable *litterateur* of the Empire, whose brush is exercised to embellish or rather disfigure an original document supposing that an original document existed.

—*Ethnographie,* Meridionaux, ed. Hervey de Sanit-Denys, pp. 571-82.

III

Ma Twan-lin on Nan-pi (Malabar) may also be compared with Chau Ju-kua's account (pp. 137-40 above):

NAN-PI

This kingdom is to the southwest. A month is needed to go there, setting out from San-fo-tsi, at a favourable time. There are always continual winds there. When the king wishes to go out, he sends in advance, a squad of more than hundred soldiers, under the direction of many officers, in order to water the ground and beat the dust on the road he is to traverse. The prince takes very choice food. He is served varied dishes by hundreds and (this happens) two times every day. One of the great dignitaries of the court has the high direction of his *cuisines.*

The inhabitants of Nan-pi are very warlike. They manage skilfully the sabre and the lance. They are shrewd archers. They know to mint and strike silver coins with alloy which bear the royal seal of the State and which serve as currency for commerce. They fish for pearls and make cotton cloth of all colours. Because of its distance, this country lived without any relation with China, when two merchants who were natives of the land and who were called Chi–lo–pa–tchi–li–yu, father and son, came to establish themselves in the centre of the town of Tsiouen-tcheou (of Fo-kien). After this, many Chinese vessels took the route to Nan-pi in order to carry on trade.

—*Ethnographie,* Meridionaux, ed. Hervey de Saint-Denys, pp. 587-88.

IV.

The following from Ibn Battūta should be read in continuation of XXX (B) at page 219 :—

Of the false rumour which was spread on the death of the Sultan, and the flight of the Malik Hoshang.

As he returned to Daulat-a-bad, the sovereign was indisposed during the journey; the rumour ran among the people that he was dead. This news spread and was the cause of grave seditions. Malik Hoshang, son of Malik Kamāl-u-din Gurg, was then at Daulat-a-bad, and he had promised to the Sultan never to take the oath of obedience to any other than himself as long as the Sultan should live and even after his death. When he heard of the death of the sovereign he fled to an infidel prince named Burabrah who lived in inaccessible mountains between Daulat-a-bad and Koaken Tānah. The monarch was informed of his flight, and as he suspected trouble, he hastened to reach Daulat-a-bad. He followed Hoshang in his track and surrounded him with cavalry. He sent word to the Hindu prince to surrender him; but the latter refused saying, "I will not surrender my guest, not even when the consequence would be, as far as I am concerned, similar to what has happened to the king of Kanbīlah." However Hoshang was frightened about himself; he expedited a message to the Sultan, and they thought it expedient that the latter should return to Daulat-a-bad; that Quṭlu K͟Hān, the preceptor of the Sultan, should remain in order that Hoshang may receive some sureties from him and come to Quṭlu K͟Hān with a safe conduct. The Sultan left, and Hoshang conferred with the preceptor who promised him that the monarch would not kill him or lower his rank in any way. Then he set out with his goods, his family, his people and went to the Sultan; the latter rejoiced at his arrival; he clothed him with the robe of honour and thus gratified him.

—*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Vol. iii, pp. 335-36; *cf.* Elliot and Dowson, iii, p. 619.

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